REPORT RESUMES

ED 016 726 24 UD 005 111

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO STUDENTS ATTENDING PREVIOUSLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS IN THE DEEP SOUTH. FINAL REPORT.

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REPORT NUMBER BR-6-8412 PUB DATE SEP 67
GRANT OEG-3-6-068412-1273
EDRS PRICE MF-$1.00 HC-$8.28 205P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SCHOOL INTEGRATION, *NEGRO STUDENTS, *SOUTHERN SCHOOLS, *STUDENT ATTITUDES, INTERVIEWS, TEACHER ATTITUDES, PARENT ATTITUDES, RACIAL ATTITUDES, CONTROL GROUPS, CAUCASIAN STUDENTS, SOCIAL CHANGE, STUDENT IMPROVEMENT, CHANGE AGENTS, INTERGROUP RELATIONS, DATA, RESEARCH, CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT, STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS,

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY WAS TO INVESTIGATE THE PROCESS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN THE DEEP SOUTH IN TERMS OF THE CHARACTERISTICS AND INTERRACIAL EXPERIENCES OF A SAMPLE OF DESEGREGATING NEGRO STUDENTS, THE REACTIONS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AND THE REACTIONS OF THE STUDENTS' WHITE TEACHERS. INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH A SAMPLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL NEGRO STUDENTS WHO TRANSFERRED TO PREVIOUSLY ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS, WITH THEIR FAMILIES AND TEACHERS, AND WITH A CONTROL SAMPLE OF NEGRO STUDENTS SIMILAR TO THE DESEGREGATING STUDENTS EXCEPT THAT THEY CHOSE NOT TO TRANSFER. IT WAS FOUND THAT MOST STUDENTS HAD THEMSELVES MADE THE DECISION TO TRANSFER AND THAT THEY BELIEVED THE WHITE SCHOOLS OFFERED A BETTER EDUCATION. HOWEVER MANY WHITE TEACHERS MISPERCEIVED THE STUDENTS' MOTIVES AND THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE INTERESTED ONLY IN RACIAL INTEGRATION. THE TEACHERS MADE NO ATTEMPT TO CONSTRUCTIVELY COUNTERACT THE TENSION ACCOMPANYING THE INTERRACIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THEIR CLASSROOMS. FORTY-ONE PERCENT OF THE NEGRO STUDENTS PERCEIVED THEIR WHITE CLASSMATES AS REACTING NEGATIVELY TO THEM AND DISTRUSTED WHITES MORE AFTER THE INTEGRATION EXPERIENCE THAN THEY HAD BEFORE. THE STUDENTS WHO DID NOT TRANSFER FELT THAT THEIR DESEGREGATING FRIENDS HAD ACQUIRED A FALSE SENSE OF SUPERIORITY. THE DIAGNOSTIC INFORMATION THAT HAS EMERGED FROM THIS STUDY MIGHT BE USED BY EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARS AND PRACTITIONERS. (LB)

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. OEG 3-6-068412-1273

United States Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
Small-Contracts Branch

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by

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UD 005111

September 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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UD 005 111

Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge

Institute for Social Research

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

PREFACE

The general purposes and procedures of this study are explained in the original contract with the United States Office of Education.[1]

> The purpose of this study is to investigate the social backgrounds, personality characteristics, decision-making processes and experiences of selected Southern Negro youngsters who have desegregated previously all-white public schools. Interviews will be conducted with approximately one hundred of these desegregators, their families, and teachers throughout rural and urban areas of the state of Alabama. This pilot study should contribute to a better understanding of some of the issues and experiences of social change agents. Furthermore, it should contribute knowledge helpful to public planning for educational change in the near future. It has special relevance for the training of Southern teachers to manage desegregated classrooms, and the preparation of Negro and white school and community authorities to work with the desegregation process.

Since the Supreme Court's decision in the 1954 school segregation cases (Brown Vs. Board of Education: 347 U.S. 483, 1954), much public attention has been focused on the need for change in Southern schools and communities and the extent to which such change is occurring. Several reports and studies have been made of the community processes surrounding Southern school desegregation, and many newspaper and magazine articles and political debates have discussed anticipated and real changes in Southern society.

However, social change cannot be understood if it is analyzed merely in terms of broad historical changes, litigation and judicial decrees, legislative records or even community processes. The human agents of change in Southern schools, the desegregation pioneers, are an important element in the total process of regional and national confrontation.

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[1] Unites States Office of Education small contract Project #6-8412.

Throughout border and core regions of the South, young Negro boys and girls and their families or advisors made decisions and took action to change dramatically the course of public education. It is the objective of this study to understand more completely the youngsters and families who took these risk-filled steps, to understand the forces operating upon them and the bases for their action, and to examine and record their experiences and reflections upon their historic roles.

In the initial stages of this study it became clear to the senior investigator that a considerable source of potential knowledge was available to interviewers. Respondents were eager to participate in the study, readily invited interviewers into their homes, and questions and conversation flowed easily and well. In the face of this rich possibility it was decided to double the size of the originally intended sample and to ask more lengthy and detailed questions. As a result of this option, and in view of the potential utility of the findings, the Office of Research Administration at the University of Michigan, The Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, and the Southern Regional Council contributed additional funds to the project. But another result has been that the available funds, even as augmented, have not permitted a detailed analysis of the data in time for the submission of this final report. In a sense, this publication really should not be read as "final", since it is truly only a beginning descriptive analysis and report of the data collected.

A number of persons and institutions have been extremely helpful in facilitating this work. The Department of Social Science Research at Tuskegee Institute, and especially Paul Puryear, Eric Krystall, and the students in Mr. Krystal's course, helped with questionnaire construction and did the actual interviewing of Negro respondents. Frances French, Barbara Oppenheimer and some of their colleagues and students helped with questionnaire construction and the interviewing of white teachers. Colleagues and students at the University of Michigan, most notably Diane Hatch and Margaret Wissman, greatly facilitated the coding and analysis of the data. The several institutions noted above provided financial support, as well as occasional moral and scholarly wisdom.

Finally, the students, parents and teachers who took the time and trouble to respond to our questions are to be thanked. This report is dedicated to them. For many, their response was a risk taken with strangers, and an act of faith that their words and feelings would not be ridiculed, ignored, distorted or otherwise used against them. For many, the interview was a welcome opportunity to talk about and share with others their ideas, reactions and anxieties. For some, it was a desperate and cynical gamble that anything would or could come of talking to scientists trying to catch up with the march of events. We cannot hope that we are or will be true to all our respondents' concerns; but we hope to have made a start. And we hope that as this and other reports become the raw material for planning and executing more successful programs of just and passionate change in these United States, the scientific community can pay off on that desperate gamble.

Mark Chesler

Phyllis Segal

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The background of this study involves a nation at war with its own ideology and social practice. In almost all major institutions we see daily the evidence of racial separation and isolation: such evidence takes the form of organized poverty, inequality and injustice; it is apparant also in feelings of guilt, fear and unreasonable hostility among our peoples. Our nations' schools, too, reflect this basic racial cleavage: once the main public hope for the creation of a mature pluralism, the schools in all parts of our country are now pre-eminently characterized by racial separation.[1]

The fact that the focus of this study is on schools and schoolchildren in the deep South does not diminish the national importance of our racial dilemma. Many of the problems and experiences described here are occurring in other parts of the nation as well. But the issues simply are drawn more clearly in the South; they are less befogged by claims and counter-claims of "quality ghetto schooling", "de facto separation", "residential segregation", "neighborhood schools" and the like. Buttressed by a history of legal machinery and strong overt community norms, most Southern school systems entered the mid 1950's clearly and unabashedly separated by race.

At mid-century various community forces concerned with the character of such racial separatism in the South moved into political and judicial arenas to fight the existing "separate but equal" premise. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown Vs. Board of Education and succeeding cases set the stage for major controversy and gave public support for change in Southern school systems. Change on the order intended therein did not happen easily and automatically, especially where community norms supported the status quo and where major resistance movements were organized to frustrate judicial intent. A number of reports and books document community conflicts and adjustments to the court orders during the late 1950's.[2]

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[1] Coleman, et al. Equality of Educational Opportunity. United States Office of Education, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1966; Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1967.

Once it became clear that both the federal government and local protest groups meant to be tenacious about school change, southern school systems began to invent a variety of strategies for meeting these pressures. Some states and locales passed special pupil placement laws, offered tuition grants to encourage the development of white private schools, and in other ways attempted to slow down and frustrate the pace of school change. At the same time several different patterns of token school desegregation were put into effect.[3]

The results of the historical and cultural patterns established by our national heritage, as well as the specific regional history of the 1950's, are reflected in figures regarding the number and percent of Negro youngsters who actually entered white schools. It is quite clear that school systems in border states more rapidly moved toward desegregation than did those in southern states. But even within the group of states normally considered as the South,[4] the five deep south states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina demonstrated extraordinary resistance and reluctance in this matter. A concise summary of the pace of school desegregation is found in periodic reports of the Southern Education Reporting Service. Figure 1 below shows the absolute number of Negro students attending schools with whites in the several deep Southern states and the percentage of total Negro students represented by these numbers in each of several recent years.

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[2] Carmichael, J. and James, W. The Louisville Story. New York, Simon & Shuster, 1957; Anderson, M. Children of the South, New York, Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1966. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Public Education Staff Report. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1964. Blaustein, A. and Ferguson, C. Desegregation and the Law. New York, Vintage, 1962.

[3] The political process of "tokenism" is discussed by Killian, L. and Grigg, C. Racial Crisis in America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1964. The specific forms invented and used in Southern school systems are summarized in Morland, K. Token Desegregation and Beyond. Atlanta and New York: Southern Regional Council and Anti-Defamation League, 1963. See also Aiken, M. and Demerath, N.J. The Politics of Tokenism in Mississippi's Delta, Trans Action, 1967, 4, 26-34.

(Figure 1 here)

Figure 1 demonstrates quite clearly just how slowly these five states have begun to alter their racially separate educational systems. It also demonstrates that the years 1964-65 and 1965-66 were years of great change, relatively speaking.

One of the major questions regarding desegregation plans and controversies has been the feared or assumed effects of school change on the students of both races. Most of the reports available in this regard have been speculative and theoretical,[5] although full of excellent insights and provocative suggestions. The homogeneous Negro school is seen by Armstrong and Gregor as an aid in insulating the Negro youngster from

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[4] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

[5] Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation. New York: Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957. Armstrong, C., Gregor, J. "Integrated Schools and Negro Character Development" Psychiatry. 1964, 27, 69-72.

FIGURE 1

NUMBER[*] AND PERCENT[**] OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS WITH WHITES IN THE DEEP SOUTH: 1963-1966[#]

STATE	YEAR					
	1963 - 64		1964 - 65		1965 - 66	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alabama	11	.004	96	.030	1250	.43
Georgia	177	.052	1337	.400	9465	2.66
Louisiana	1314	.602	3581	1.114	2187	.69
Mississippi	0	0	58	.020	1750	.59
South Carolina	10	.004	260	.100	3864	1.46

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[*] Estimated

[**] The number of Negroes in school with whites, compared to the total Negro enrollment.

[#] The sources for these data include: Southern Education Report, 1966, 1, p.31; Southern School News, 1965, 11 (12), p.11; Statistical Summary. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1964.

threat and rejection; other authors assume that these potential costs are necessary risks for future personal and social growth. For example, Haggstrom points out that while desegregating Negroes in fact may be harmed by the insecurity of heterogeneity and the lack of absolute racial identification, segregated Negroes are more likely to be harmed by the secure adoption of an inferior identity, one that has never been tested by confrontation with differences.[6]

Some recent research suggests that Negro students' performance and achievement scores rise in newly desegregated situations.[7] In most of those cases reported, the facilities of the entire systems also improved, so it is difficult to determine whether desegregation or general systemic improvement is the most critical factor. In addition, the emphasis upon achievement scores as outcome measures may tend to overlook some of the intrapersonal and interpersonal dynamics occurring in the classroom. Katz' research, for instance suggests that the effects of desegregation upon Negro students is probably related to the degree of motivation or incentive present in the person or situation, and to the potential and actual rejection or acceptance of the Negro by white peers and authorities.[8] The normal peer and authority dynamics of the classroom would appear to become heightened in importance as the environment becomes interracial and therefore more strange and threatening. Several studies have demonstrated that one must attend to these dynamics and that we simply cannot depend on the "contact hypothesis" for the reduction and elimination of racial distance and tension.[9] The mere mixing of races in the classroom does not guarantee that harmonious relations between youngsters will result. Webster, for example, reports a study in which contact did not produce mutually more favorable attitudes; Negro youngsters became more positive toward whites, but whites became more negative.[10] Webster notes that the post-test in this study followed desegregation by only 6 months; perhaps too short a time for favorable attitudes to develop Lombardi reports that under certain conditions of contact, namely among white students' whose grades went down or who came from homes with less well educated mothers, desegregation resulted in the development of less favorable white attitudes toward Negroes.[11] These two studies were conducted in the North and West, and they merely suggest some of the potential problems attendant on school desegregation in the deep South.

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[6] Haggstrom, W. Segregation, Desegregation and Negro Personality. Integrated Education, 1963, Vol 1, #5, 19-23.

[7] Hansen, C. The Scholastic Performances of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Harvard Educational Review. 1960, 30, 216-236. Stallings, F. A Study of the Immediate Effects of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools. Journal of Negro Education, 1959, 28, 439-444.

[8] Katz, I. Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes. American Psychologist 1964, 19, 381-399.

In this same context it seems that teachers can play a vital role in facilitating Negro youngsters' academic growth and positive social relations in the classroom. By setting a personal style of fairness and a classroom climate conducive to positive social relations, the teacher can help overcome the cultural barriers youngsters bring with them to class. On the other hand, teachers' public discomfort with, or rejection of Negro students can be powerful inhibitors of student achievement, and can help mobilize white peer rejection as well. Although, there is little clear research in this area, Katz points out the problems of white teachers of desegregated classes who tend to "underestimate the ability of minority children, misinterpret their goals, and express a preference for teaching white pupils."[12] At the same time Coles reports their attempts to wrestle with such predispositions and their own professional integrity and commitment to fair play and good teaching.[13]

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[9] This hypothesis is presented or validated in such reports as: Yarrow (Ed.) "Interpersonal Dynamics in a Desegregation process" Journal of Social Issues.1958, 14 (1)., Williams R. The Reduction of Inter-Group Tensions. N.Y.: Social Science Research Council, 1947., and Allport G. The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Anchor, 1958.

[10] Webster, S. The Influence of Interracial Contact on Social Acceptance in a Newly Desegregated School. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1961,52.

[11] Lombardi, D. Factors Affecting Change in Attitude Toward Negroes Among High School Students. Journal of Negro Education, 1963, Spring.

Few studies of the desegregation process have focussed upon these social psychological attributes of persons and classroom situations. Yet these are the variables and processes youngsters feel, and these are some of the conditions that facilitate or inhibit their academic performance, their views of themselves and their society, and their potential for growth as persons. Some of the personal meaning of school desegregation is recorded and reported by such sensitive observers as Anderson and Coles,[14] and the reactions of some 20 youngsters from the deep south has been recorded by Chesler.[15] These various reports document the kinds of experiences youngsters faced in newly desegregating situations. They report and reflect youngsters' ability to withstand role stresses and strains, anxiety and abuse. But because these are primarily case studies of persons or small groups, such reports leave much to be desired in terms of systematic collection and analysis of empirical data. This is not to say that these reports lack validity; but to facilitate the understanding and plan for the educational changes this society is about to undertake more systematic data is necessary.

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[12] Katz, I. Some Motivational Determinants of Racial Differences in Intellectual achievement. International Journal of Psychology. (In Press) p.10

[13] Coles, R. The Desegregation of Southern Schools. Atlanta and New York, Southern Regional Council and Anti-Defamation League, 1963.

[14] Anderson, M. Children of the South, New York, Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1966.
Coles, R. "Separate But Equal Lives" New South. 1962, September 3-8.

[15] Chesler, M. In Their Own Words. Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1967.

It is not only with regard to experiences in desegregated schools that more systematic study is crucial. It is also necessary to focus more clearly upon the question of who the desegregators are. Where do they come from? How did they decide to go to white schools? Why did they decide? Only through the study of these questions can we understand more clearly the reasons and processes by which southern schools are changing. Several scientists have made impressive starts on these questions.[16] Weinstein and Geisel's study suggests that higher status Negro families who value education, who are actively concerned about desegregation in the South, who have more favorable attitudes toward pioneering, and who feel less social alienation take the initiative in enrolling their children in all-white schools. But this study is limited by its sample of early elementary school students in a border state school system and its investigation of only a few social-psychological variables in family style and process. In another study, Crockett reports on characteristics of the Negro population which chose to attend previously all-white schools in St. Louis when the opportunity was first available in 1955. He hypothesized that there would be significant differences between the socio-economic status, IQ and ability, and grade average of the 310 Negro students who chose to desegregate and the 137 eligible who chose not to. All these hypotheses were disconfirmed by his findings. Crockett explains his results by concluding that new variables unlike those that have previously proven significant in educational decisions for other populations must be operative. If this is true, and if Weinstein and Geisel's findings are general, attitudes toward civil rights and desegregation issues should be relevant discriminators between youngsters who choose to desegregate and those who do not so choose. There are evidently conflicting findings with regard to the role of family status and educational background, and we can only hope that further research will clarify these conflicts.

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[16] Weinstein, E., Geisel, P. "Family Decision-making Over Desegregation" Sociometry. 1962, 25, 21-29.
Crockett, N. "A Study of Some Factors Affecting the Decision of Negro High School Students to Enroll in Previously All-white High Schools" Social Forces. 1957, 35, 351-355.

These problems of school change, and these gaps or conflicts in the scientific literature and understanding of the phenomena of such change, are the prime generators of this study. We have investigated the decision making processes, initial interracial experiences, and reflections on school desegregation of several hundred Negro youngsters who transferred to previously all-white schools in the deep south. In addition, the data reported here include interviews with their parents, with a sample of non-desegregating Negro peers and their parents, and with a small group of white teachers. This analysis of the hopes and experiences of change agents who operated within a constitutionally legitimate procedure, yet often in oppostion to community norms, should greatly advance and deepen our understanding of some contemporary processes of social change. It should also provide data and insights about the core elements of change roles, and the possibilities of planning for further change with greater accuracy and success.

The educational significance of this project lies partly in the attempt to record some of the personal and interpersonal issues in a historic time of change in educational systems. Furthermore, as increased public pressure is placed on Southern educational institutions, and as greater demands for change and desegregation are made, knowledge of the sort gathered here should be critical. As the review of the literature indicates, there is little systematic data on Southern school desegregators and their experiences. Since a major variable in the eventual success of desegregated educational systems will be the ability of teachers to prepare themselves, their classes and their new students for each other, clear findings about the backgrounds, feelings and experiences of Negro desegregators and their teachers should aid in the effective training of teachers in their new roles. Clear findings in this area should facilitate and improve the many and varied change programs already being contemplated and introduced.

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND SAMPLE

The original decision to limit the student and parent portions of this study to Negroes was based upon the economics of time, money and energy. It was felt that the Negro community of Alabama was more readily accessible to scientific investigation of such a delicate matter than the white community.[17] As a result, this study is severly limited by its almost sole reliance upon reports of Negro youngsters and parents. But their views, of course, are real for them and thereby shape their reactions and actions.

During the late spring of 1966 preparations were made for interviewing Negro desegregators by contacting local organizations in almost every Alabama county. No national or regional civil rights group or public agency had a complete or systematic list of Negro desegregators, so various local leaders were approached directly. Community leaders - lawyers, ministers, educators and community organizers - were extremely open and helpful in providing names and addresses of Negro youngsters who were desegregating schools in their areas. The desire of local Negro leaders and parents to cooperate with this research can be seen as a clear indication of their view of the potential utility of the findings. As one middle-aged woman said, "It's important that you're talking with these kids; they need to know that someone from the outside is interested in them and what happened to them." When we had completed this survey of local communities we had developed a list of almost 500 names of junior and senior high school desegregators.

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[17] One major reason for this presumption of access, as well as the choice of Alabama as the study site, was the senior investigator's sojourn as Visiting Instructor at Tuskegee Institute during the first half of 1966.

Partly because of the limited availability of skilled interviewers and the greater articulateness of older students, it was decided to focus primarily on high school students and to limit the study to junior and senior high school students and their parents. From the list of 500 secondary school desegregators we randomly selected approximately one-half of the names from each community as the persons to be interviewed. In those counties with a large number of desegregators (Jefferson, Madison, Lauderdale, Colbert, Tuscaloosa and Etowah) we deliberately under-sampled and limited the number of interviews to no more than 15 from any one community. In all cases, interviewers were Negro college students, mostly from Tuskegee Institute. All interviewers either had gone through a year-long course in survey research techniques, or were especially trained on-the-spot.[18] Their race, curiosity and skill undoubtedly contributed to their great rapport with respondents.

A twenty page, 1 1/2 hour interview form was developed for each population of desegregating students, parents of desegregators, control youngsters and their parents. Although the questionnaires are different for each population, many questions are repeated in exact or modified wording. These forms were pilot tested in several counties during the first half of June and our experience with them resulted in a revised form later used across the state. The entire series of instruments accompany this report in Appendix B.

Interviewing was conducted during late June, July and early August of 1966. Contact persons in each community were notified ahead of time, and potential respondents were called and/or received a letter in the mail, and a meeting time was established.[19] A 98% acceptance rate was attained, and most of the refusals came from parents. In addition to outright refusals some parents were either unlocatable or deceased. When an interviewer returned with a completed form it was read through by a supervisor and any checking was done with the interviewer right there.

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[18] Mr. Eric Krystall, of Tuskegee Institute, trained most of these interviewers in his classes and later supervised much of their work.

The control population was identified by asking the desegregator - respondent to name several peers of the same age and grade and who lived in the same neighborhood but who still attended the old all-Negro school. Then interviewers randomly selected a control-respondent from among those nominees. This procedure was utilized to maximize the potential for ecological and socio-economic matching, and to insure that the controls would know some desegregators well enough to answer questions about them.

When all interviewing was completed, the sample of matched student-parent respondents identified in Figure 2 was attained.

(Figure 2 here)

In addition, there are approximately 32 student interviews for which interviewers could not locate or interview a parent, and 2 parent interviews not matched with a student.

The ease of access to these youngsters and parents, and the great potential for collecting rich and complete data from a large percentage of the total available population were the main reasons this study was enlarged beyond its original intent and contractual agreement.[20] The

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[19] A copy of the letter is included in Appendix A.

[20] As noted in the preface, we had originally planned to interview 100 matched sets of desegregators and 50 matched sets of controls.

Figure 2

THE SAMPLE OF NEGRO DESEGREGATORS AND CONTROLS[*]

COUNTY	DESEGREGATOR (N=197)	CONTROL (N= 75)
Northern Area		
Blount	8	4
Colbert	15	8
Cullman	9	0
Etowah	15	3
Lauderdale	11	2
Limestone	7	4
Madison	12	5
Middle Area		
Calhoun	4	2
Jefferson	30	7
Talladega	14	7
Tuscaloosa	14	6
Southern Area		
Autauga	6	0
Bullock	6	3
Choctaw	6	3
Crenshaw	3	1
Elmore	5	3
Henry	1	0
Lowndes	4	2
Macon	4	0
Mobile	5	3
Montgomery	9	6
Pike	3	3
Russell	6	3

[*] Each number represents a matched set of two 1 1/2 hour interviews, one with a student and one with his or her parent.

final total of 217 student desegregators represents, according to best estimates, over 40% of the entire population of Negro junior and senior high students attending desegregated public schools in Alabama in 1965-1966. The interviews were conducted in over 30 communities in 23 counties throughout the state of Alabama, representing urban and rural areas, and middle-class and improverished neighborhoods. Because of the size and geographic diversity of the sample, these interview data probably reflect the situation of Negro desegregators in the five deep south states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina.

In addition to these youngsters and their parents, we intervlwed 39 white teachers who had taught in some of these desegregated classes. The teachers were interviewed by Southern white college students much later in the year. A 20 page questionnaire was also developed and pilot tested for this population before it was finally administered. In comparison to the Negro population, there was much more difficulty in interviewing these white respondents; many had moved in the intervening year and many did not wish to be interviewed. The final sample of teachers includes respondents from 17 different communities throughout the state. Since the teachers were asked questions about classroom process similar to those questions asked of desegregators, the comparison of these viewpoints should permit a more realistic view of the class than could be offered by either population alone. In the unfortunate absence of a population of white students and families, these teachers' views will stand as the only representative of the white community in this report. While this is regrettable, and while we would have liked to have included interviews with white students and parents as well, these are the limitations of our sample. These limitations do not deny the importance of the data collected, nor their utility for understanding and planning for school change.

Characteristics of the Sample

The ages of the desegregators ranged from 11 to 19, with the vast majority being in the 15 to 17 year old group. We included in our sample youngsters from the 7th through 12th grades; however, the sample was deliberately skewed towards senior high school students. Fully 85% of the sample was in the 10th through 12th grades, and only a few in the 7th through 9th grades. For almost all of the students this was their first year attending previously white public schools in the State of Alabama. Only 11 youngsters in our sample were in their second year of desegregated schools. This small sample of repeaters was to be expected given the total number of Negro youngsters who attended schools with whites in Alabama in the 1964-1965 year or earlier.

It is clear that the desegregating youngsters do not represent in any necessary or systematic way the brightest youngsters coming out of Negro junior and senior high schools. Approximately 10% of the desegregators report that they had A averages in their Negro schools; and another 62% were carrying B averages. However, fully 28% of the desegregating students had C or below averages in their former schools. For the most part, then, there is a fairly wide range of prior academic performance represented among the youngsters who decided to transfer to white schools.

In order to get some sense of the physical and geographical arrangement of these youngsters and their schools, we asked them how far it was from their homes to their new schools and how far it had been from their homes to their old schools. It is interesting that over one fourth of the students had to travel over an hour in order to get to their school when they were attending an all Negro school, while only one student now has to travel that far to get a white school. However, approximately 40% of the students lived only 5 minutes away from their old school while only 16% live that close now. It seems that there is major change along both extremes with many students now travelling between five minutes and 1/2 hour to get to school and many less travelling only five minutes or over an hour. Whether or not the matter of distance is connected to the decision to transfer schools will be investigated later in this report.

CHAPTER III

THE DECISION TO TRANSFER

The Negro youngsters who transferred to previously all white schools in the State of Alabama generally did so under a free choice system. In other words, Negro youngsters and their families were invited to take the initiative in petitioning to go to a school of their own free choice. Figure 3 presents an example of the form used by school systems to inform youngsters and parents of their right to choose a school, and to solicit any request for change in school attendance.

(Figure 3 here)

In commenting upon the popularity of such free choice programs, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights notes that they were used in 93.5% of the desegregation compliance plans submitted in Alabama.[21] The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights further reports that:

> "It is difficult for many of these Negroes to exercise the initiative required of them by free choice plans. In many cases the long history of subservience has eroded the motivation they might otherwise have to alter their way of life... Under freedom of choice plans schools tend to retain their racial identification... A substantial factor in the reluctance of Negro parents and children to select 'white' schools is fear."[22]

Negroes who did desegregate the schools in Alabama during the 1965-1966 year among the first to insist upon their freedom of choice in spite of the above restraining forces. In order to understand on what basis and through

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[21] Survey of School Desegregation in the South and Border States 1965-1966. Unites States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1966.

[22] ibid, p.33,35.

Figure 3

TEXT FOR CHOICE OF SCHOOL FORM

(Required by § 181.46 of the Statement of Policies)

(IF SEPARATE SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED FOR OTHER THAN NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS, TEXT IS TO BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY)

(School System Name and Office Address)

(Date sent)

CHOICE OF SCHOOL FORM

This form is provided for you to choose the school your child will attend for the coming school year. It does not matter which school the child has been attending, and it does not matter whether the school you choose was formerly a white or a Negro school. No student can be enrolled without making a choice of school. This form must either be brought to any school or mailed to the Superintendent's office at the address above by ------------------------. If the student is 15 years old by the date of choice, or will be entering the ninth or a higher grade, either the student or his parent may make the choice.

1. Name of Child --
   Last First Middle
2. Age ------------
3. School and grade currently or last attended ------------------------------ Grade ----------
4. School Chosen (Mark X beside school chosen)

Name of School	*Grades*	*Location*
[Here list by name, grades offered, and location each school available. For example:]		
☐ George Washington High School	8–12	Adams St., Jefferson
☐ James Madison Elementary School	1– 7	Monroe St., Jackson

This form is signed by (mark proper box):

Parent ☐

Other adult person acting as parent ☐

Student ☐

Signature --
Address --
Date --

This block is to be filled in by the Superintendent's office, not by person signing.
Is student assigned to school chosen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not, explain: --

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966 O—210-100

what processes youngsters and their families made the decision to transfer to new schools, we asked students to report who made the decision or was involved in helping them make the decision.

In 90% of the cases, youngsters reported that they had made their own decision. Sometimes they said that they had the help and support of one parent or another, sometimes they did without this support. Occasionally a child made the decision to transfer to an all white school in the face of strong parental opposition. In only 10% of the cases did the students give any indication that they had not made the decision to transfer completely by themselves. In a few cases the the youngsters felt obvious parental influence, and in relatively rare instances students admitted that they were hesitant and went because their parents or other persons told them to change schools.

In about 60% of the cases parents also reported that their youngsters made the decision all by themselves. Another 25% of the parents felt they made the decision, or that it was made by other relatives or contacts; this is particularly true for the younger desegregators. In the remaining families parents reported that they and their youngsters decided together, although it was not the youngster's sole initiative at work. It is to be expected that youngsters and parents would see themselves somewhat differently in this regard, although both parties seem to agree that the students most often made the decision by themselves. As one mother reported:

> Those who opposed integration circulated rumors, through the press and otherwise, to the effect that the participating Negro children were reluctant victims of ambitious parents who coerced them into this action. This charge is erroneous because many of the children, including those of our own family, made special pleas to their parents for this privilege before obtaining a somewhat guarded permission.

We asked all the desegregators how various members of their family and community felt about the impending transfer. A summary of these data are presented in Table I.

(Table I here)

Students reported that their mothers were relevant to their decision and expressed themselves in almost 95% of the cases; friends and fathers were relevant in 80 to 84% of the cases, and teachers were important sources of information or advice in just about 71% of the cases. When mothers were seen as relevant, fully 74% of them expressed positive support of the youngster's decision to transfer to the all white school. Approximately the same percent of fathers and teachers similarly were supportive of this decision. It is quite interesting that only 58% of the friends who where consulted or who expressed themselves were positive. Over three times as many friends were seen as opposing the decision (31%) as were fathers or teachers. Mothers and fathers who were seen as opposed to the transfer primarily expressed concerns about the physical harm that might come to their child. Although friends expressed this, too, for the most part they were seen as more concerned about losing their colleagues. Friends also were sometimes seen as jealous of their colleagues' ability and the fact that they had gotten parental or administrative permission to make the change. The implication of these findings is that when Negro youngsters decided to desegregate the white schools they did so largely on their own; most often they did so with parental support, but also at the risk of leaving and losing their former peers and friends.

In an attempt to understand why youngsters made the decision to transfer, we asked them the question, "What made you decide to change school and

TABLE I

HOW DID OTHER PERSONS FEEL ABOUT YOUR DECISION?

Persons	Feelings			
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
Mothers	74%	22%	4%	(N=188)
Fathers	70%	21%	9%	(N=158)
Friends	58%	11%	31%	(N=166)
Teachers	73%	18%	9%	(N=143)

attend the white school?" Forty-eight percent of the desegregators reported as their reasons the educational assets of the white schools. The opportunity to get a better education and learn more, to be exposed to higher educational standards, better facilities and equipment, better teachers, an enlarged curriculum, and better opportunities for the future represented the major educational reasons why youngsters made the shift. A concern with racial integration, with combating the stereotypes and rejections of whites, and racial curiosity were the reasons presented by 17% of the desegregators. The strong influence of certain authorities, school board members or parents, was a prominent factor for over 8%; while dissatisfaction with the curriculum and personnel of the old school represented the principal reasons for transfer for another 8%. As was implied by the data reported in Chapter II, almost 8% of the desegregators reported that they transferred because of the better location of a white school. These data, which are summarized in Table 2, reflect quite clearly that the desegregators over-riding concern was to move into a school system that offered them more advantageous intellectual opportunities.

(Table 2 here)

Some of the youngsters who gave as a priority for transfer educational reasons reported such concerns as:

> I gain more in one year at the white school than in two years at the Negro school.
>
> My main purpose was to get an education and it didn't make any difference if I have friends.
>
> I always wanted to be something and I feel that this is the only way I can get what I want.

TABLE 2

DESEGREGATORS' REASONS FOR TRANSFERRING TO "WHITE" SCHOOLS

Reason	Percent Responding
Better Education	48.1
Education in general	24.1%
Facilities	8.6
Teachers	3.6
Curriculum	4.4
Study more	1.9
Opportunities	5.5
Concern for Integration	26.2
Go to white school	7.3
Be a pioneer	4.0
Duty to race	6.9
Curious about whites	8.0
Others' Influence	8.5
Dissatisfaction with education at the old school	8.0
Bad location of the old school	7.6
Other	2.5
Total	100.9

> My oldest brother who was graduating was going to go to the integrated school but decided it was too late and he told me I should go because the integrated school offered a better education.
>
> I wanted to get away from some of my friends because they were holding me back; we did not have adequate equipment - I wanted to prepare myself better for college.

Some of those students concerned with transferring for reasons relevant to the civil rights movement or a concern for integration offered comments such as:

> I felt that it was time integration be started there and felt that I should start it.
>
> I think we deserve to go there as much as they do.
>
> To see whether my brain is inferior.
>
> I felt that Negroes are able to go to school with whites because if we can cook for them we can become educated with them.
>
> I saw that there wasn't anybody else going. Really I didn't want to go, but I'd seen all the demonstrations and things on TV and what we were fighting for and while the opportunity came I saw that nobody else was going.

In response to a similar question, parents, by and large, stressed as a major part of the reasons for letting their child transfer a desire for them to get a better education; and they tended to place less emphasis than their youngsters did upon racial integration or civil rights progress. As some parents noted:

> Because (the Negro school) is 100% no good. Not even as much the necessary equipment to be called a school. Still got them little huts.
>
> Because of the school and the principal. He hires and fires teachers every year - he never lets them stay there long enough to teach the children.

> I was also aware that the whites made all of the decisions and unless we were able to get where the decisions were made we would always be down.
>
> Because an integrated school is our only hope for the races to understand and accept one another.

A substantial number of parents did not give any reasons for supporting their youngsters' transfer, explaining that the decision had been up to the child and that they really had nothing to do with it.

The decision to transfer can be thrust into relief by an examination of some of the reasons other Negro students gave for deciding not to transfer. Sixty-eight percent of the control population had thought about going to the white school. Like the actual desegregators, most of them stressed the educational advantages of such a transfer, but a much smaller number stressed reasons relevant to racial integration, curiosity or pioneering in civil rights. When asked what disadvantages they saw in such a transfer fully 56% of those responding stressed their fears about racial rejection and physical harm. Some chose not to transfer because they felt they did not know how to combat rejection or isolation or fighting; others felt they would have great trouble making friends and didn't want to be first; and some feared unfairness and discriminatory behavior by the teacher. Thirty-two percent reported that they didn't want to leave their friends, scholarships and extra-curricular activities as the Negro school. The remaining controls said that they didn't go to a white school because of the strong inhibiting influence of family, friends or school authorities. The controls who still did not plan to transfer in the next school year, 1966-67, were largely influenced by the desire to complete their education where they were already established.

A recent report of interviews with several hundred Negro adults in Alabama seems to support the reliability of these findings.[23] Parents of segregated youngsters saw the major advantages of sending their children to a white school in terms of a better education where children could learn more (23%), use better facilities and equipment (28%), get more attention from teachers (5%) and have a wider subject choice (6%). On the other hand, the major disadvantages were seen to be social or physical in nature, including potential harm from whites (22%), the lack of friends (18%), the difficulty of adjustment to any new school (15%) and problems in transportation (8%).

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[23] Krystall, E., Chesler, M., and White, A. Voting Behavior and Attitudes Toward School Desegregation: A Study of Southern Negroes. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, Tuskegee Institute, 1967.

CHAPTER IV

INITIAL EXPERIENCES WITH WHITE PEERS

After making the decision to transfer to a white school, many youngsters had to overcome a variety of barriers to get to their new school. Not the least of these barriers were their own worries and expectations about what the first days would be like. Students were asked what they expected would happen then, and their responses are presented in Table 3.

(Table 3 here)

The data in this table indicate that over one-fourth of the Negro students went to school expecting to be beaten or harmed physically. On the other hand, another one-fourth expected nothing out of the ordinary to happen. These expectations led approximately 23% of the students to report that they felt scared or frightened upon entering the new school. Another 52% felt "uneasy" or "worried", but not actually scared. Those youngsters who felt uneasy or scared most often seemed concerned with the actions whites might take against them. Secondly, they reported that they had to wrestle with their own feelings of loneliness and strangeness and at being in a new school and being with whites. The remaining students were relaxed and did not experience these unsettling feelings.

One of our concerns was to determine what forms interracial interaction took once these Negro desegregators entered the previously all-white schools. How did they feel they were received by whites? The relevance of this concern is supported by research studies which demonstrate that one of the most critical aspects of any school experience is

TABLE 3

DESEGREGATORS' EXPECTATIONS REGARDING THE FIRST DAY

Expectation	Number	Percent
	(N=208)	(100%)
Fights, riots or some physical harm	58	28%
Name calling and wise cracking	52	25
Staring and talking about us	8	4
Unfriendliness and rejection	14	7
Nothing unusual	55	26
Other	21	10

the social relationships formed among students in the classroom.[24] The Negro youngsters who enter white schools and classrooms often are interacting with white peers for the first time, and Katz's research in particular suggests this may be a time of great anxiety.[25] In order to assess how the Negro students felt their white classmates responded to them, desegregators were asked: "Is there anything you can remember about how the white students reacted to you on the first day." While the question specifically refers to their experiences on the first day of school, many desegregators did not limit their responses to a description of that single day in the past. Instead, they described their general perception of the white students' reactions during the early part of the school year. It may be that these Negro students' perceptions are not accurate representations of white reactions; but their perceptions do represent reality for them and probably did influence their feelings and behavior. In this sense, the responses to this question provide a good indication of the early climate of social interaction that existed between the Negro youngsters and their white classmates.

Approximately 15% of the desegregators indicated that they felt "positive reactions" on the part of their new white classmates. Examples of these experiences varied from encounters with particular whites who stood out in their memory as nice, to general recollections that the white students smiled and were friendly.

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[24] Schmuck, R. Socio-Emotional Characteristics of Classroom Peer Groups. Doctoral dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1963.

[25] Katz, I. Review of Evidence Relating to the Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes. American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 381-399.

> A student council member met me at the door and walked me in and talked to me.
>
> A particular girl was extra friendly.
>
> Some were pretty friendly; one white girl came up and told us she was glad we were there and hoped we'd like _______High.
>
> They were nice. They had on signs that had their names on it that said "Hello".

Of course, these "friendly" reactions were neither unilaterally effusive nor necessarily permanent. One respondent described the reaction of a white student's mother when she learned her child had been friendly to the Negro desegregators.

> ...One girl was real nice the first two weeks by showing us around and playing with us, but after two weeks she stopped speaking...I spoke to her in town when she was with her mother and she turned her around. On the next day she didn't speak.

Such positive reactions raised the hopes of the Negro students; they suggested that perhaps life in the new school would not be as strained as first believed. But positive reactions were not typical of desegregators' experiences; rather a range of negative reactions was more characteristic of the initial days and weeks. By far the largest number of respondents, almost half (48.6%), felt that they encountered considerable resentment and hostility. The Negro students were very sensitive to the passive resentment communicated to them through hostile stares, efforts at physical avoidance, laughing and teasing behind their backs, and general unfriendliness. These sometimes subtle responses often made them feel unwelcome and suspicious about all whites in the new school. For example, several students reported that:

> The first day when we would go to the rest room they would giggle and stare at you...Whenever we would sit down the students wouldn't sit by you, when we went to the locker the students would stand back until we had gone.
>
> They looked at me real hard as though they didn't want me there.
>
> They acted entirely different from the way I expected - didn't nobody say a thing. They just kept going their way as if we weren't there.
>
> They were very ugly - acted as if we were some type of contagious disease - no one spoke or hardly looked around. I was in a class by myself and no one sat near me...and in the cafeteria if it was crowded if you sat by them they'd get up and move immediately.

At times, the white students' hostility was expressed in more overt and aggressive forms. Active confirmations of what the stares and avoidance only suggested were clearly described by the desegregators as follows:

> They acted like they were shocked by seeing a Negro; they acted like they had never seen a Negro. You could see the hatred. They call you out of your name, throw spit ball. If you walk down the hall they would push someone on you...They would throw glass in your food.
>
> They throwed paper. If you turned your back you will be kicked. Sometime when you are walking down the hall the big boys will try to walk over you or elbow you. They throw paper on you on the bus. They made a sling shot and shot one boy in the head with a pecan.
>
> They made funny remarks to each other. They pushed me. Sometimes they had water guns and they would shoot at me. Tried to spit on me and shoot food on me in the cafeteria.
>
> There were stares and they treated us like dirt. They called us names. Some days they would hit you and run by sneaking up on you. You never know who did it. They would spit on us. That was mostly when we were going to our classes. They avoided us in the lunchroom. The only time they sat next to us is when the teacher made them. They didn't recognoze us as their classmates.

Incidents such as these were by no means limited to the classroom or school building; they also occurred on the way to and from school, in cars, busses and on foot.

These perceptions of white students' negative reactions to the presence of Negroes is further manifest in the desegregators' response to the question: "Did they call you any names?" Fifty-six percent of the respondents said that their white classmates did call them derogatory names. Most of these students who were called names were called "nigger" or "darkie", some were consistently called names like "coon", "monkey", and "black bunny", and some others were also called "black S.O.B.", "black bastards" and "black shit".

Not all of the desegregators described the reaction of their new white classmates in terms as consistenly positive or negative as the above quotes indicate. Approximately 36% of the Negro students differentiated among the reactions of various whites at different times, and described some as friendly and others as hostile:

> When we were going to classes everyone moved or jumped out of your way. One girl came up to me and told me she was happy to have me there.
>
> Some acted friendly and some ignorant. The friendly ones helped me to find the classrooms and the pages the lesson was on. The ignorant ones called names like Nigger and whispering among each other giggling....
>
> There was a crowd of kids and when we came in their direction, they moved from us. When I got my first class, a girl wrote me a note and said for me not to be afraid and that they were just as afraid as we were.

Other respondents' perceptions of the response of the white students included quiet indifference, "normal" behavior, and surprise or fright; several described white students staring or just not talking to them.

> They stared and looked as if "Mother and Daddy told me this would never happen".
>
> They acted as if they were afraid of us, but they didn't do anything.
>
> They couldn't help for looking at us, but everybody was looking at everybody so it didn't make much difference.
>
> They sort of ignored us. They got in little groups of their own and acted as if we weren't even there.

As can be seen from these representative quotes, the "neutral" or ambiguous responses do not suggest an attitude of friendly welcome or passi acceptance on the part of the white students. While these neutral cu may not be interpreted as clearly negative either, they may be understood to contribute to an uncomfortable situation. In a highly threatening situation ambiguous cues are often interpreted as signs of rejection and hostility. What the actually intended meaning is is seldom checke out, so ambiguity is most likely to unintentionally contribute to discomfort, alienation and self-protection. Of course, it is quite possible that some of these relatively neutral cues were meant to be expression of negative and rejecting feelings.

The Negro youngsters were also asked how they thought the white students felt when they saw Negroes entering their school. Consistent with their perceptions of white students' behavior, most desegregators (52%) saw them as feeling hostile, angry, superior and otherwise negati. But a substantial number saw them as feeling either scared (10%), or suprized (21%) and explained their behavior in those terms. The remaining 17% felt the whites were either neutral or even positive about thei presence. Some of these perceptions of how white students felt were reported as:

> The were eager to find out what it would be like to go to school with Negroes.
>
> Surprised about all the things the white people had been worrying about.
>
> Some felt scared and confused. They'd been accustomed to an all white school. Their parents had taught them to hate Negroes - that Negroes were nasty, dirty, and that they'd eat you.
>
> That we were taking over and that we were lower animals.
>
> Like beating us up.

Despite the general experience with rejection by aggression or indifference, 74% of the desegregators reported that at least some white classmates had acted in a friendly way. Such beginnings of friendship may have taken as simple a form as working or talking together, or it could even have meant playing together. In two instances, Negroes reported that some white students had actively tried to confront their own peers in order to stop fighting and teasing. When these friendly behaviors occurred they often seemed to generate additional cycles of positive interaction; as Negroes responded to the friendly overtures, other whites sometimes engaged in further talk and play. Some students reported that:

> I talked back to her and she sometimes called me on the phone and we talked.
>
> I told her how glad I was to meet someone like her and how we like the school; she was in her first year too - she came from another school.
>
> Then many more became more friendly.
>
> I, in return, gave them my name.

But in a substantial number of cases (42%) these budding relations seemed to generate more negative responses from white peers. Other whites sometimes picked on and teased the friendly students, while some just tried to make up the balance by being particularly negative and aggressive to the Negroes.

In summary, these perceptions directly confront and undermine the notion that school desegregation has been occurring without serious negative incident in the deep South. Quite clearly, Negro students experienced considerable indifference and rejection, and often physical and emotional brutality, when they entered white schools. Newspaper reports of occasional incidents of community violence or court proceedings generally have not served to present the continuing reality of Negro students' efforts to thread their way through very trying peer circumstantes. The daily rejection and tension described herein cannot help but seriously strain Negro youngsters' emotional resources and depress their energies for intellectual and/or academic gain. Equally important, in many areas the stage is now being set for suspicion, mistrust and continuingly justified expectations of mutual hostility and rejection. But within this framework of largely negative response, it is also clear that in some schools, and with some peers, positive and successful interracial interaction occurred. In several places throughout this chapter we have seen reports of white students' reaching out to their new Negro peers in friendly and helpful ways. These silver linings, too, have not been stressed appropriately in press reports and interim accounts of school desegregation.

It is interesting that the largely negative white reactions perceived by Negro youngsters do not characterize equally well all parts of the entire state. The process of school desegregation is not occurring at the same pace throughout Alabama, and the white students' reactions are not the same throughout the state. Part B of Table 4 presents these perceptions of white behavior differentiated by geographical sectors of the state.

(Table 4 here)

It is clear that the Negro desegregators significantly more often felt they were positively received by their white peers in northern Alabama communities; over 70% of the positive responses were from this area of the state. While Negroes still experienced a substantial amount of hostility and name calling in the north, (30% of the Negroes reported negative reactions), such strong opposition was not nearly as pervasive as it was in the middle and southern communities (58% and 61% reported negative reactions in these areas). As we move further south, even _within_ the deep south state of Alabama, school desegregation seems to meet increasing resistance. This phenomenon of geographically differentiated response is not new, it is reflected in the entire history of this region since before the Civil War. But these particular data are helpful in that they illuminate the problems of talking about an area of a country, or a state, as if it were a monolithic entity. There have been varied white responses to school desegregation within the deep south state of Alabama, even though that variety exists within a pattern of largely negative reactions. But even such limited variety is meaningful in the lives of the students involved, and it requires that our perceptions and programs be tailored accordingly.

The critical questions this evidence of both positive and negative responses poses are twofold in nature: (1) what happens to these initial

TABLE 4

NEGRO STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF WHITE STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO DESEGREGATION, BY TOTAL AND REGION OF THE STATE

	Perceived Responses			
Region of State	Negative	Neutral or Mixed	Positive	Total
	(N=103)	(N-77)	(N=32)	(N=212)
A. Total State of Alabama	48.6%	36.3%	15.1%	100%
B. Region				
Northern Alabama	30.4%	39.2%	30.4%	(N= 79)
Middle Alabama	57.8%	34.4%	7.8%	(N= 64)
Southern Alabama	60.9%	34.8%	4.3%	(N= 69)

$X_B^2 = 97.7; p < .001$

responses over time, and; (2) what do or could teachers, principals and community agents do to help reward and institutionalize one rather than another type of interracial interaction. Hopefully, some preliminary answers to these questions can be examined or provided in the remainder of this report.

CHAPTER V

INITIAL EXPERIENCES WITH WHITE TEACHERS

One of the hopes of desegregation plans is that historical and ultural estrangements can be overcome and that interracial classroom s tuations can be conducive both to academic growth and to the developmen of positive interracial attitudes. If the potential social and educati nal benefits of school desegregation are not to be frustrated completely it seems crucial to prepare Negro and white students in some way for th part they play in the process of change, and to help classmates of b th races develop supportive social relationships. What can classroom teachers or school principals do to alleviate the rejection and diff culty and mobilize the positive potential present in this cultural confron a- tion?

In an attempt to understand what has happened relevant to this problem we asked Negro desegregators to describe their perceptions the initial reactions and behavior of their new white teachers. Only 3 of the Negro students felt that their teachers had paid any special att ntion to them during the first days, the majority, 66%, perceived nothing n- usual in the teachers' behaviors. Most of the students who felt th were given special attention reported that their teachers had been especially encouraging, welcoming and helpful to them in adjusting the new routines and environments. For instance:

> She tried to make me feel at home.
>
> She asked me if I could find my way around and offered to help.
>
> She called me up to the desk and said to let her know if anyone aggravated me.

> They treated us just like we were special...nice...
> but it didn't last long.

A small porportion of the teachers who were seen as especially attentive gave a negative impression to the desegregators because they seemed to react strangely or with discomfiture to the new students' race.

Although some teachers were perceived as going out of their way to be personally helpful, there is no evidence that they set some "ground rules" in their classes; there is no evidence that public confrontations were made with white students or with traditions. This is certainly the path of least resistance, since a teacher's public confrontation with white students' behavior and mores involves much more difficult and definite action than private smiles to Negroes or laissez-faire behavior. And as reported above, most of these teachers (66%) did not do anything special; they did appear to act in a laissez-faire manner with regard to the establishment of positive racial relations. On the first day or days, when the teacher can establish control and set the classroom atmosphere, most of these teachers may have suggested to their classes, by their own non-involvement or lack of special interest, that the students could treat each other as they wished. Negro and white students may have assumed that their teachers supported the substantial amount of negative and aggressive white behavior, since so much of it was expressed openly without major teacher intervention or punishment. Rather than teaching students new ways of behaving, or supporting and reinforcing occasional instances of openness, mutual understanding and respect, most teachers let students continue as they wished. As a result, most students seemed to be guided by pre-existing stereotypes and fears about the need to maintain distance and safety.

The Negro desegregators were asked to describe another aspect of the white teachers' behavior - their fairness. Several researchers in the area of school interracial relations report the meaning of fairness to students to be impartiality in the handling of discipline, reports, grades and the recognition of merit; it also includes treating each group equally, neither over-leniently nor over-severely.[26] Almost three-fourths (73.5%) of the desegregators reported that their teachers were fair. When compared to the report that relatively few felt that their teachers had been active in paying positive special attention, it seems that it was more common and probably easier for teachers to treat Negroes impartially than to create a classroom atmosphere which actively encouraged Negro and white students to be friendly and helpful toward each other and to try to trust one another.

Among the remaining 26.5% of teachers the most common manifestation of unfairness that was reported was name-calling and discourtesy. About one-third of the descriptions of unfair behavior identified teachers who called students "Nigger", or had intentionally or unintentionally mis-prononounced "Negro". More than another one-third of such unfair reports noted that students felt they were singled out by their teachers or mis-treated because: they were put in the back of the class, separated by races in rows, called on last, weren't given the proper equipment, weren't allowed to participate in class, or were graded more harshly. Apparently the seating arrangement often bothered the desegregators, since many of them volunteered that if they could change one thing about the classroom they would change the seating arrangement. Some teachers' behavior may have been due to ignorance or habit or misunderstanding, but much of the negative behavior was interpreted by the desegregators as purposive. In a dilemma similar to that faced with white peers, Negro students were probably quite ready to interpret ambiguous teacher behavior as prejudicial and intentionally destructive.

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[26] Giles, H., The Integrated Classroom, New York, Basic Books, 1959; and Wey, H., and Corey, J., Action Patterns in School Desegregation, Bloomington, Indiana, Phi Delta Kappa, 1959.

Chesler points out that some of these Negroes' responses may have come about because white teachers "misunderstood or underestimated the potential problems facing youngsters attempting to bridge the cultural gap between the races".[27] Other teacher behaviors, however, seemed so blatantly destructive that it is hard to explain them on any basis other than as the products of prejudicial thinking habits or conscious designs for the exclusion or embarrassment of Negro students. Examples in the former category that were reported by students and parents may include:

> My history teacher doesn't seem to know how to pronounce the word Negro.
>
> My history teacher said that if we couldn't read and write we shouldn't vote and we shouldn't be praying and marching up and down the streets.
>
> My english teacher would pass out equipment and pass over me. I would have to tell her that she didn't give me anything.
>
> They give the white kids better grades than they did us.
>
> One rule loathed by the Negro children and parents was the practice of forcing students to say "yes ma'am" and "yes sir". The students wanted to be courteous but they felt that they had been conditioned into resenting this because they knew that years ago some of their parents or grandparents were required to say "yes ma'am" and "yes sir" or risk physical violence.

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[27] Chesler, M. In Their Own Words. Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1967, p 11.

The latter perception of more deliberate mistreatment may be exemplified by the following comments:

> The children would tease me and she would get up and go out to let them carry on.
>
> Sometimes she would compare whites and Negroes to make you feel uncomfortable
>
> Some won't say anything to you even in class. If they say anything they'll probably crack a joke so the white students can laugh.
>
> Our history teacher, in class, she would never call on Negroes, she would give us our assignments last. She says that Negroes were better off in slavery and that all men were probably created equal, but when they were made and put into special locations the whites were superior to the Africans in Africa".
>
> There was a history teacher who always referred to us as "niggers". She told the white students to stay in school because the "niggers are going to take over".

It is a truism among educational researchers that teachers' feelings and behavior always influence the classroom atmosphere to some degree; perhaps passively when teachers choose not to become involved, or actively when teachers act overtly and directly. The relevance of this view for good social relations in racially mixed schools is voiced by superintendents in Weinberg's recent collection of writings.[28] In the current study we compared desegregators perceptions of white students reactions under two conditions of perceived teacher behavior: (1) where teachers were seen as fair and welcoming to Negro students; and (2) where teachers were seen as unfair and negative. These data are presented in Table 5.

(Table 5 here)

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[28] Reported in Weinberg, M., Research on School Desegregation, Chicago, Integrated Education Associates, 1965.

TABLE 5

NEGRO STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHER FEELINGS RELATED TO PERCEPTIONS OF WHITE STUDENTS' REACTIONS

Have any teachers been unfair or made you feel unwelcome	Students Reactions			
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	
	(N=92)	(N=73)	(N=31)	(N=196)
Fair-Welcome	42.2%	38.7%	19.0%	(N=142)
Unfair-Unwelcome	59.3%	33.3%	7.4%	(N= 54)

$x^2 = 6.02;\ p < .05$

It is clear from Table 5 that when white teachers were seen as unfair, white students were more likely to be seen as expressing negative beha r; on the other hand when the teacher was seen as fair, students were mor likely to be seen as behaving in a positive manner. Since the teacher often sets and dominates the classroom atmosphere, it may be inferred that the teacher's behavior influenced the white students - in a positive or negative way. This interpretation may be causally altered however, suggesting either that the white students' behavior affected teachers' responses or that teachers were highly constrained by the sa norms that influenced white youngsters. In this respect teachers woul have much less freedom within which to exert positive influence than o would ordinarily expect. To a certain extent this must be the case since even with fair teacher behavior over 40% of the Negro students f there were negative reactions from white peers. Further analysis of these data indicate that perceptions of teachers behavior do not vary systematically by region of the state. In other words, even though student responses were seen to differ in different parts of the state, teachers' reactions didn't. If both teacher and student responses var concurrently throughout the various regions of the state, one could explain the findings in Table 5 in terms of the effects of regional norm upon both teacher and student behavior. Then teacher reaction would no be as critical a variable in affecting student behavior as the regional standards. Since teacher and student behaviors do not both vary by region, the findings in this table do not reflect primarily the pressur of regional norms on both students and teachers. Rather, they are an important demonstration of the effect of teacher standards and behavior upon perceptions of white students' responses to desegregation.

Since one of the major adjustments Negro students had to make to their new school involved responding to white authorities in the person of their teacher, we inquired into the differences between such white authorities and the Negro teachers they were used to in their old school. The range of student responses to this inquiry, as well as the reasons for their assessments, are presented in Tables 6 and 7.

(Tables 6 and 7 here)

It is clear from table 6 that most of the youngsters who saw systematic differences between teachers felt that the white teachers were better. The major reason for this assessment seems to be student perceptions of greater teacher interest and energy in the material and the students. A number of students discussed the problem of teaching qualifications by noting that while their Negro teachers seemed to be more old-fashioned and generally less interested in them and their work, the white teachers often were seen as younger and full of fresh ideas but not as experienced in the classroom. For some youngsters the issue of teacher skill could only be approached in terms of their own personal fears and hopes. The following remarks present some of the range of views on this matter.

> When you're used to being around a Negro teacher and then want to ask or talk to a white teacher like a friend, you are afraid because you don't think she will understand.
>
> The are better at explaining things than Negro teachers but they talk so funny. I can't understand sometimes. The Negro teachers are friendlier.
>
> The white teachers are in the classroom more; in the old school sometimes we would not have class and sometimes the teacher would leave and not show up.
>
> This was my first year that I completed a text book.
>
> At (negro school) they felt they had theirs and I got to get mine. At (white school) they want you to get what they offer.

TABLE 6

HOW DO THE WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS COMPARE

Comparisons	N	%
Whites better	86	44%
Whites same	54	28
Some better, some worse	8	4
Whites different	42	22
Negroes better	3	2
	193	100%

TABLE 7

REASONS GIVEN FOR FEELING THAT WHITE TEACHERS ARE BETTER

Reasons	N	%
Teach better, more interested	44	40%
Take more interest in students	19	17
More qualified	14	13
Spend more time in class	14	13
Stricter	6	5
Less strict	3	3
More fair and sincere	5	5
Better equipment	5	5
	110	101%

> Some are better; some are worse. The better ones are the younger ones. The older ones are worse. They (white teachers) don't like the idea of integration. They have been there so long that their teaching techniques are just out.

It is clear that the teacher and students in the classroom do not operate in a social vacuum. Of course they are affected by, and in turn affect, the community at large. But they also interact with other elements of the educational community. As one person responsible for the direction of local educational efforts, the principal can often mediate various community forces in an attempt to insure or preserve certain school standards and norms. As a result, the principal can have major influence on the nature of the school curriculum, on professional educational policies, on teacher colleague relations and on the informal student atmosphere. Through his actions - either with teachers or directly with students - he not only sets the rules and regulations but also establishes the tone of school response to new and changing situations. We did not inquire into students' perceptions of the principal's role in the current study but student views reported in an earlier monograph may illuminate the effects of his stance.[29]

> I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they was getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them, but he began to slack up on them and they begun to get like they were the year before.

> The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals... I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did....When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

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[29] Chesler, M. op.cit. p.13

> See, if something happend during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.

Throughout this chapter we have reported Negro students' views of their teachers and principals. We can only guess how these perceptions affected youngsters' efforts at intellectual achievement and interpersonal growth, but prior educational research suggests that when white authorities are seen as trustworthy and non-threatening Negro youngsters are most likely to develop rapidly. We have examined the considerable extent of laissez-faire teacher behavior, and have speculated upon the way such behavior permits existing school and community norms to be expressed in class. Further, we have received the relationship between teachers' positive or negative responses to their new Negro students and white students' similar behaviors. Finally, we reported students' comparisons between their new white teachers and the Negro teachers in their old school. In Chapter IX we will look at some of these same issues from the perspectives of a sample of white teachers who taught in these classrooms.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONS WITH WHITES DURING THE YEAR

In Chapter IV we discussed the Negro desegregators' initial experiences with white students. After the early period of contact and confrontation new potentials for interracial relations often were possible. In this chapter we explore some of the relationships and phenomena that developed at later times during the school year.

One of the central concerns of many scientists and educators involved in the desegregation process is the effect of such school change upon the identity and comfort of Negro students. As noted in Chapter I, this concern has been cited by some as a reason for being cautious about the pace and extent of interracial transfers. In the current study respondents were asked: "Some Negro students who have gone to mostly white schools said that they had some trouble 'being themselves'. Can you tell me what they might have menat by this?" The responses to this question are presented in Table 8.

(Table 8 here)

It is clear that most youngsters could identify various strains fostered by desegregated situations. Some remarks illustrative of typical role and identity strains follow:

> You try to act a little different because they be watching every move you make. You have to break your old habits.
>
> They couldn't act like they would at a colored school. They had to be on their best and if they weren't they would laugh at us.

TABLE 8

THE MEANING OF TROUBLE "BEING THEMSELVES"

Meaning	Percent	
General strain	42%	
Couldn't act normal		14%
Careful about actions and talk		17
Nervous and tense		11
Because of Whites	25%	
Fear or restraint due to whites unfriendliness		17
Careful of whites		8
Other	33%	
Lonely		6
No such trouble		4
Other		4
NA		19

> The white people gave their children the wrong conception about Negroes. They watch you, and everyone, to see if you are like their parents - that is that you are ignorant and dumb and don't take baths and have bad manners. So the Negro has to always be at his best.
>
> Maybe they're having racial problems like wanting to be like whites...to be accepted.
>
> They are trying to put on an impression to try to build the image of the Negro and try to prove to whites that we are not like they think we are.
>
> I don't see why they should have any trouble being themselves because I want people to accept me as I am.

In general it seems that desegregators felt a general need for caution, and self-constraint to prevent faux pas or provocations. Further, even greater hesitancy seems to have been generated by the unfriendly or unclear posture of white peers. In some cases this strain led students to behave in ways quite divergent from their normal styles. In other cases, of course, this pressure was denied vigorously, and the temptation to behave out of the ordinary was derided as a symptom of weak personal or racial identity.

It is not clear how pervasively this need for caution was felt within the population of desegregators. When we asked them about intellectual and academic activities, fully 92% of the Negro students reported that they felt free to express themselves in class. Within this freedom, however, there were certain topics that made them uncomfortable when they were discussed. Although only 17 students reported they felt constrained in expressing themselves, 80 students were able to volunteer topics they didn't feel they could talk about in class. Civil Rights and Negro history, including discussions of African, American and Southern history, were the touchiest topics. Several Negro youngsters were able to pinpoint the different causes of discomfort; some were externally located in peers or teachers, and some were triggered by internal conflicts or associations.

> When they start talking about Negroes I wouldn't mind talking but the students laugh all the time. They always discuss the bad things about Negroes, if anything good or successful happens to or about a Negro they don't discuss it.
>
> Yes; mainly slavery. When I think of slavery, I think of Civil Rights and when I think of Civil Rights, I think of Negroes and the way that they have been treated.

In addition to inquiries regarding intra-classroom freedom of expression we asked the desegregators about the degree of their involvement in school-wide clubs and activities. Forty-eight percent of the respondents described themselves as active in clubs, and another 46% reported that they were not active for a variety of personal reasons. Only the remaining 6% said that the school rules would not allow them to participate in clubs and teams. All those students who described themselves as active were members of interracial clubs; indicating that not only did school policy permit students of both races to be in activities together, but that informal student norms solidly supported this rule. The great majority of Negro participants were involved in sport clubs or teams, with a much smaller percentage in academic or dramatic groups. Fully three fourths of the students reported that they were more highly involved with extra-curricular activities this year than the year before. Whether this increased activity is a normal function of being one more year advanced in high school, a response to the greater availability of facilities and a wider range of activities in the white school, or a particular effect of being with white peers is unclear at the present time.

Finally, we attempted to follow up on some of the incidents that occurred early in the year by asking the desegregating students whether they felt the white students changed in their attitudes and behavior toward them over the course of the year. Almost 80% of the desegregators reported that whites did change somewhat mostly in a positive direction. So for the most part there is evidence of some perceived change in white-Negro relations, even though the original baseline established for assessing change was extremely low. Perhaps this finding represents a partial confirmation of the longer term success of the "contact hypothesis" discussed in Chapter I. We will discuss this issue further in Chapter X, when we review how these perceived changes in white reactions were interpreted and responded to by the Negro youngsters.

CHAPTER VII

DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

In this chapter we begin to make some comparisons between the desegregator and control samples of Negro youngsters. Certain aspects of family background, personal style, future goals and social and political attitudes are explored. Most of the data presented is descriptive, and it is here that we are most seriously disadvantaged by the incomplete character of the analysis to date. We plan to continue the analysis of data and questions explored here.

With regard to family background, it is clear that both desegregators and controls come from families of approximately the same size. Parents' level of education does tend to be higher for desegregators than for controls. These data are presented in Table 9.

(Table 9 here)

As this table indicates, parents of students who desegregated white schools are approximately twice as likely to have attended college as the parents of a student who did not attend a desegregated school. Furthermore, parents of desegregators are slightly more likely than parents of non-desegregators to be office workers and less likely to be in service occupations; but these data do not approach statistical significance.

A variety of personal styles and concerns of desegregator and control populations were investigated in these interviews. All students were asked to report their priorities concerning needs for (1) exerting leadership, (2) having many friends, or (3) achieving highly. Desegregators

TABLE 9

PARENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

Level of Education	Population Desegregators	 Non-Desegregators
	(N=197)	(N=75)
Less than 8 years	26.7%	34.3%
8 - 12 years	46.2	50.6
Some college	27.0	14.6

$X^2 = 4.99$; $p < .1$

more often stressed their affiliative needs, while controls were more likely to emphasize power and leadership concerns. This finding may be interpreted as an indication of some of the internal forces driving youngsters to seek out new social situations or to stay in potent and successful roles in old environs. Or, it may be interpreted as the desegregators' reaction to the year's experience, and an indication of the loneliness and isolation from new white peers and old Negro friends experienced by the desegregators.

The desegregators reported slightly higher grade averages in their old school than did the control sample, but the differences were very small and were not statistically significant. In a broader context than grades and school achievement both groups of youngsters expressed similar aspirations for future occupational status, especially in terms of hopes for professional and managerial roles. However, differences between these populations emerged when they were asked what occupations they expected to be in when they grew up. Data relevant to both sets of questions are presented in tables 10 and 11.

(Tables 10 and 11 here)

The data in table 11 indicate that when we move from aspirations to expectations desegregators still expect to realize their desires; but controls significantly more often do not expect to realize their hopes for professional status, and therefore are more often undecided or unclear about what will actually happen. It is not clear, of course whether such differences represent adjustment to reality on the part of controls, starry-eyed ambition by desegregators, or the effects of hard-nosed planning by desegregators who are going to white schools partly to ensure and

TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS ASPIRATIONS FOR DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

Status	Population	
	Desegregators	Non-Desegregators
	(N=197)	(N=75)
Professional	49.7%	50.6%
Clerical-official	21.5	20.0
Operative	15.1	18.0
Service	2.0	4.0
Other	8.0	10.7
Undecided	13.8	6.7
	100.1	100.0

D = 18.5 - .9; NS*

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS EXPECTATIONS FOR DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

Status	Population	
	Desegregators	Non-Desegregators
	(N=197)	(N=75)
Professional	48.2%	28.0%
Clerical-official	15.2	18.7
Operative	5.6	6.7
Service	3.0	4.0
Other	10.2	14.6
Undecided	17.8	28.0
	100.0	100.0

D = 18.5 - 20.2; $p < .05$*

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*The statistical operaton utilized here is the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test described in: Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1956 (pp. 127-136, 279.)

prepare for such mobility. Whatever the reason, these divergent prospects for occupational reality are further reflected in the students' plans for education beyond high school. Eighty percent of the desegregators, as compared with 65% of the controls, plan to go to college; and 8% of the desegregators as compared with 19% of the controls plan to enter a trade school.

In the interviews we also inquired into a range of attitudes and perspectives on school and societal affairs. One question asked all student and parent respondents to make three choices naming the most important role requirements of good citizenship. The choices offered, and the range of responses to these choices are presented in table 12.

(Table 12 here)

It is clear from this table that student desegregators and non-desegregators express very similar views; the major differences occur between the generations. In general, Negro youngsters place a lower priority upon church-going and disliking communists as criteria for being a good American than do their parents. On the other hand, youngsters seem to stress the importance of not thinking one is better than others' and being proud of one's country.

Some of the comparisons made between the Negro desegregators and their control counterparts suggest that the two groups do not differ on a number of school related attitudes. However, significant differences are apparent with respect to some of their attitudes toward whites. As several stems in table 13 indicate, desegregators seem to be less negatively prejudiced against whites, and more actively concerned about change and their efforts in change roles. These findings partially confirm

TABLE 12

CONCEPTIONS OF A GOOD CITIZEN BY PARENTS AND STUDENTS, DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

Role Requirements	Population			
	Student		Parent	
	Desegregators	Non-Desegregators	Desegregators	Non-Desegregator
	(N=197)	(N=75)	(N=197)	(N=75)
Obey the laws	24.7%	25.8%	25.5&	27.5%
Go to church	9.5	9.7	15.9	16.9
Mind own business	3.5	5.3	2.8	1.8
Dislike communists	2.2	1.3	6.6	9.3
Doesn't think he's better than other races	17.2	16.9	11.5	9.7
Votes in elections	18.6	19.0	18.6	18.2
Pays taxes	4.4	5.3	5.2	4.9
Proud of country	15.0	12.0	8.5	9.3
Believe in free enterprize	4.1	2.2	3.4	1.8
NA	.7	1.3	2.0	.4

early reports of attitudes held by parents of desegregators.[30]

(Table 13 here)

It is not clear from these data whether such differences in views existed prior to a year's attendance at a desegregated school or whether they are a function of that experience in interaction with whites. Hopefully, some of the findings and interpretations in Chapter 10 will shed light on that subject.

Tables 14 and 15 present data relevant to desegregator's and controls' reading habits and awareness patterns regarding current events and public affairs.

(Tables 14 and 15 here)

The data in table 14 clearly demonstrate that desegregators read newspapers significantly more often than do non-desegregators. Moreover, it appears from table 15 that desegregators more often read and pay attention to news reports and public events relevant to politics and civil rights activities than the controls. With regard to another aspect of public affairs and politics, desegregators were more likely to express a preference for the election of racial moderates like Richmond Flowers for Governer of Alabama than were the non-desegregators. In general, it appears from these several reports that desegregators are more aware and attentive of certain public issues, especially those relevant to politics and civil rights, than are their non-desegregating peers.

At this point in our analysis it is clear that desegregating and non-desegregating youngsters are very similar in a number of aspects of

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[30] Weinstein and Giesel, op cit.

TABLE 13

STUDENT AGREEMENT WITH VARIOUS ATTITUDE STATEMENTS

Item	Desegregators	Controls
	(N=197)	(N=75)
1. It is good to take part in classroom work as much as possible.	99%	100%
2. I work hard on what's being taught in school.	94%	96%
3. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.	87%	85%
4. The white school is better than the Negro one.	83%	73%
5. I feel I should be one of first Negroes working actively to change things in the South.	83%*	69%*
6. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a white person.	53%*	70%*
7. White people will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.	73%*	86%*

* The differences between desegregator and control populations on items 5, 6 and 7 are statistically significant. ($P. < 05$).

TABLE 14

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING FOR DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

Frequency	Population Desegregators	 Non-Desegregators
	(N=197)	(N=75)
Almost everyday	57.4%	42.7%
A few times a week	37.0%	36.9%
Very seldom	5.5%	19.4%

$X^2 = 13.4$; $p. < .01$

TABLE 15

DIFFERENTIAL ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS BY DESEGREGATORS AND NON-DESEGREGATORS

Attention	Population Desegregators	 Non-Desegregators
	(N=197)	(N=75)
No interest	3.5%	13.3%
Interest in everything	5.0	5.3
Interest in VietNam	23.8	24.0
Interest in Civil Rights	32.0	20.0
Interest in Politics	25.9	16.0
Interest in Sports	2.0	5.3
Interest in Other	7.8	16.1

their backgrounds and social attitudes. However, their expectations and plans for success and mobility seem to be more firmly in place than are those of the control population. Other major differences are reflected in the desegregators' lessor prejudice against whites and greater interest and concern for civil rights issues and political affairs.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY'S REACTION

Since the sample of respondents in this study come from so many different communities throughout the state, it is folly to talk of community reation as if it were a unitary or singular phenomenon. Many different patterns of collaboration and support or resistance and opposition developed among the Negro friends and neighbors of these desegregators and their families. Our investigation of these patterns begins with an inquiry into the relationship between desegregators and their non-desegregating Negro peers, and then proceeds to relations with a variety of Negro adults in the schools and in the communities at large.

In Chapter III it was reported that a substantial number of desegregators felt that their friends who were staying at the Negro school opposed their decision to transfer and tried to persuade them not to go to the white school. We wondered how these friendships fared throughout the year. For the most part, the desegregators felt that they still saw their former Negro peers and friends quite often and were still friendly with most of them. There were some friendships that had faded away, but perhaps this was due to the normal growth process. The desegregators often saw the transfer experience as a crucible of sorts, as a condition through which they tested some of the relationships that they thought they had with their Negro peers. The ones that couldn't stand up under the tension and distance that had been created were sometimes regarded as false friendships; very few desegregators reported that they lost any of their "true" friends.

The control sample of non-desegregating Negro students also was asked to define their current relation with the desegregators, and to compare this relation with prior associations. Almost half the controls reported that they saw the desegregators as often now as they did before the transfer and that they were as friendly with them as they were before. Almost half again felt that they remained as friendly, although they didn't see each other as often now. Only a small percentage of controls felt that former friendships had fallen off. Within this context of continuing friendship, some of the controls felt that the desegregators had changed in one way or another as a result of their experience in the white school. Among the kinds of changes that were perceived was a movement toward being more studious and serious, although sometimes this appeared to be a rather thin veneer. A number of the non-desegregating students also expressed concern about the false dignity or new superiority of some of the students who transferred. For instance:

> They are not as silly as they used to be. They also speak better English.
>
> Some feel that since going to the white school they are better than we are.
>
> One of them seems to think that she is more than the other people of her color. The rest seem to be the same.
>
> Some act like they are too much!

Some of the desegregators have reported their concern that their old friends think they've "gotten big". This perception, capturing the distance that may have been created by feelings about people who have intimate experiences with whites, was most painful to the desegregating youngsters.

A number of the controls reported that the desegregators had come back to pay a visit at their old high school and had talked with some of their old friends and teachers. By and large they felt that they had been very openly and warmly received there. Many of the non-desegregating students took this opportunity to ask questions about what it was like at the white school. For some, this was a way of gathering information in order to prepare themselves to transfer to the white school the following year.

Many of the non-desegregating students didn't need much new information to understand what life was like at the white school. One girl in the control sample, whose brother was attending the white school, expressed her concern in the following way:

> The situation affected my class concentration to a certain degree, such as I would wonder if my brother was all right and if he would return home safely, although there was protection, for a time, by the federal marshalls. For instance, the school bus in which my brother rode was almost forced off the road one day while returning home. The students saw whites with guns standing in store windows while they rode through the town. At first, this situation kept me on edge, but the sigh of relief was not breathed until the day my brother returned home proudly from ____________ with his diploma.

The entire control population was asked what they thought was meant by the possibility that desegregators would have "trouble being themselves". Controls identified much the same pattern of concerns and responses as those reported by the desegregators in Chapter VI. In general, they accurately estimated some of the real pressures the desegregators experienced within themselves.

> I think they discover that the carefree attitudes among their own race is not the attitude of the whites and since they form the majority in the U.S. there is a tendency to do things their way.

> At the white school you can't be yourself in these ways:
>
> (1) You can't be very friendly because they aren't very receptive.
>
> (2) You can't be very happy because its more or less a solemn institution.
>
> (3) You can't take part in the activities. You're afraid!!
>
> They are used to the custom that whites are superior to them and they probably don't feel comfortable, thereby all are shy of the new environments.

In addition to these perceptions and relations to Negro peers and friends, a number of the desegregators reported that they had been influenced in their decision by their former teachers. Most youngsters felt that their former teachers were quite pleased and positive about their decision. However, some desegregators felt that teachers or administrators in their old school had been pretty neutral about the whole affair; that they didn't say anything to the student about the transfer. In some cases youngsters reported that they never told any of their old teachers they were going to go to the white school. Maybe they knew the move would be disapproved of; in any event a few desegregators reported that their old teachers had indeed expressed negative feelings. Evidently some teachers told particular desegregators that they weren't smart enough, couldn't make it, might flunk out, or wouldn't graduate if they transferred.

Approximately one-third of the sample of desegregators reported that their Negro teachers had given them advice and suggestions regarding their transfer. These suggestions were about equally divided between advice on academic matters, on how to behave in general, and on how to respond to whites. Clearly this advice reflects the investment the entire Negro community must have felt they had in these young representatives. Some examples of the advice desegregators reported they received include:

> To study as hard as I did.
>
> To do my best over there because whites think that Negroes are plain stupid.
>
> Not to pay attention to bad comments and to act lke we have friends.
>
> When they say things like "Nigger" pay no attention.
>
> Be nice as possible.
>
> Don't chew gum, don't talk too much, and be on your best behavior.
>
> *I shouldn't act as silly and walk down the hall as* silly as I did at the Negro high school.

The non-desegregating controls were also asked how they perceived their teachers had responded to the desegregators' decision. Most controls reported that their teachers were very positive, supportive, and encouraging about the new opportunity. Some teachers, on the other hand, seemed displeased with the whole idea, and some were unhappy about the particular youngsters who had transferred. Some representative quotes are:

> The feel that they did a good thing.
>
> They are overjoyed that they went.
>
> Most of them think it was best for them and it might have changed them; that is, make them work harder.
>
> They are glad and told us all to go over there; they wish more of us would go.
>
> I think they were very proud of the kids and they did well in withstanding a new experience.
>
> My teacher said that of all the children who applied only 50 went, and a lot of those that did go shouldn't have changed schools.
>
> Some say they don't see why they would go out there because they can learn the same things here.

If we accept these reports as accurate it would appear that most Negro teachers sympathized with the desegregators and encouraged them. Some, however, must have been threatened either by the meaning for the entire community if these representatives should fail, or by the implications such transfer had for the judged quality of Negro schools and teachers.

In some areas of the state, and in some local communities, Negro adults had opposed and continued to oppose the youngsters' decision to transfer to the white school. Some of these counter-pressures from the Negro community were very painful, and pulled youngsters and their families in several directions at once. There are also numerous reports of community support and caring for youngsters; and these were evidently quite critical in helping youngsters and their parents continue to carry through on their decisions. In several towns groups of parents banded together to confront school officials and support their youngsters. In one southern rural area mothers divided the labor of school related duties; one mother taxied youngsters to school, another raised money to buy clothes and writing materials, and another was in charge of maintaining liason with the principal. A report from one parent in another town concludes:

> In order to develop better understanding and smoother working conditions for all concerned, the Negro parents asked about organizing a P.T.A. for the entire school. They were told that the climate at that time wasn't favorable for a P.T.A.,and that most white parents would not attend. They then asked for permission to meet informally with teachers in order to iron out common problems and this was also refused. The only alternative given was an opportunity to take up problems on an individual basis as they arose. As a last resort the Negro parents organized into a closely knit group in which all subsequent strategy, counseling, mutual assistance and the like were initiated. In fact this group, at a later date, was successful enough to inveigle some white parents to join and thus form the nucleus group of what is now a small but growing P.T.A.

But it is critical to remember that such support was not necessarily forthcoming outside of the circle of parents of desegregators. In some cases it did and in some cases it didn't. Some quotations from our earlier report also demonstrate both types of reactions.[31]

> In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you could get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.
>
> ....Here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement, and the encouragement enabled me to go and graduate.
>
> People in my neighborhood didn't like my going to the white school because they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro school was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned the Ku Klux Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said, "That's what I told you was going to happen."
>
> Well, the colored people in my community, well, some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and that they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger.

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[31] Chesler, M. op. cit., p. 20-21.

CHAPTER IX

WHITE TEACHERS' REACTIONS

In this chapter we report a brief overview of the perceptions and feelings of some white teachers who taught the classes attended by these Negro desegregators. A total of 39 teachers from 17 different Alabama communities were interviewed by white college students in the spring of 1967. Because of the dates of interviewing, these teachers are dealing with their recollections of the early days of desegregation over a considerable period of elapsed time. Almost all of these teachers' classes were first desegregated in the fall of the 1965-1966 school year, and most continued to be desegregated during 1966-1967.

A number of general questions were posed to these teachers in an attempt to assess their professional ideological and organizational perspectives. For instance, we asked teachers whether they thought youngsters were getting a better or worse education in today's schools compared with schools of 30 years ago. Almost every teacher felt that today's youngsters are getting a better education than their forebears. A few expressed doubts about the negative effects of television, permissive child rearing and a lessening of family responsibilities, but none of these teachers expressed any strong desires to return to the earlier days of one-room school houses and the like. In addition to this question, teachers were asked to identify the primary objectives of their school system during the next two years. Like many other teachers in other areas of the country they emphasized "increasing children's motivation and desire to learn" and "improving the quality of academic achievement.[32] The improvement of school opportunities for gifted and for disadvantaged youngsters were also stressed; and lowest priorities were given to "improving physical health and safety", "increasing college attendance" and "hastening racial desegregation". One of the three teachers who mentioned desegregation as a priority went on to describe her concern that these preferences not be made public to her professional peers.

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[32] Chesler, M. and Barakat, H. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices I: A Study of Professional Roles and Social Structures. Ann Arbor, Michigan. Institute for Social Research, 1967.

These teachers often saw major influence on local school matters being wielded by state officials and county superintendents, both administrative sources external to their local schools and saw themselves and their colleagues as having relatively little influence on school policy. When asked to state their preferences regarding the distribution of power and influence within the school system, they consistently desired to reduce the power of persons and roles outside their school and to increase the influence of their principal, their colleagues and themselves.[33]

With these very typical professional views in mind, let us turn to an examination of teachers' perceptions and reactions to the school desegregation process. All these white teachers were asked why they thought the Negro students had decided to come to the white school. Approximately half the teachers thought the youngsters had decided themselves and had transferred because of the better educational facilities and standards of the white school. Almost half the teachers, however, felt Negro youngsters had been pressured either by their parents or by some civil rights organization. Some illustrative quotes follow:

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[33] Once again these findings seem to reflect typical teacher concerns such as those reported by Chesler and Barakat, op. cit.

> No doubt some of them were, well, just being smart. They have a lot more room over there and they have all their friends. I can't see why they wanted to come to our school.
>
> I don't think they wanted to be there and half of them wouldn't have been if they hadn't been paid.
>
> Parents of some of these were very strong in the (political) party and they knew we could have integration now so they were going to take it. Don't really believe that the kids wanted to come...Would have been happier with people they knew...doubted if they wanted better education. Felt they were pressured by parents who were pressured by others.
>
> They honestly believe that they could get a better education and improve themselves. I don't believe they were paid to come - though that is the rumor. I think the Negro community was as reluctant to push as the white was (but) wanted to make a step forward.

Teachers from several different communities repreated the information that the desegregators had been paid. It is clear that this rumor not only is univerified by our data, but rather it is directly contradicted. Moreover, there is a high degree of agreement in our sample of desegregators that most of the decisions to transfer were made by the youngsters themselves. Student and parent desegregators agreed that there was little outside pressure and that the great majority of decisions were based on the educational advantages and opportunities they hoped to find in the white school. It is an interesting question to consider whether teachers would have responded any differently to their pupils had they known this.

Almost all of the white teachers agreed they paid no special attention to the Negro students during the first days of desegregation. Those few who did anything special reported that they kept extra alert - either to protect the Negroes or to be sure there would be no trouble. Some of the teachers who reported that they did nothing special presented their reasons for this approach as follows:

> I was determined to show no difference because that would have been all the other kids needed.
>
> I didn't want to accentuate a difference.
>
> I felt it would make them ill at ease.

So for the most part, teachers said that they did nothing different or special in order not to raise the anxiety of the Negro youngsters or the resistance of the white students. At the same time, of course, there is not much evidence that many teachers did anything to reduce the anxiety or resistance already extant in the classroom.

Two thirds of the teachers reported that they talked with their school colleagues who also had taught racially mixed classrooms. In their discussions few found any constructive suggestions about classroom management, and most reported that their colleagues didn't like the idea of having Negroes in their school or classroom. However, most teachers seemed to be putting up with it, and cooperated in an attempt to help Negro youngsters learn and grow. Many teachers tried to overcome or suppress some of their own feelings in an attempt to respond in a professionally responsible manner. As the Negro youngsters saw it, of course, some teachers weren't able to do this successfully.

Over half the teachers reported that they were nervous during the first few days of desegregation. They felt a great deal of pressure to avoid trouble and to keep it minimal if anything did occur. At first teachers felt strange or awkward when they dealt with classroom situations in which the topic was slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction. A number of teachers, however, reported that they were pleasantly surprised by the lack of overt conflict in their own classes. Several noted that nothing unusual happened in their class, others felt the students' reactions were normal and wholesome. Still others reported that most of their white students just ignored the Negroes on the first day, the first week and through most of the year. A sample of teachers' responses to the question of what had happened between students of different races in their classrooms follows:

> Class was small - students came in early and left the front seats vacant for Negroes. The Negroes sat there in the front row all year and I didn't ask the white students to sit by them.
>
> The discipline problems the Negro youngsters have had were probably caused by the white students.
>
> In one class all the white students sat on one side of the room and let the Negro students sit by themselves on the other side.
>
> They teased them in a good natured pleasant way. This is a good sign because when you tease someone it means you like or accept them.
>
> I'm not too crazy about the lazy faction-they chum with the white lazy faction and hence they are the same.

In describing the reactions of the white students some of these teachers described their own role in permitting separate seating situations and other forms of isolation or separation. As noted earlier, such arrangements seldom seem to be neutral or irrelevant to Negroes. The desegregators felt that white students were rejecting them by selecting these classroom patterns. When these arrangements were accepted, desegregators felt teachers, too, were either rejecting them actively or were acquiesing in the students' expression of rejection. Perhaps this is a good example of how a lack of special attention may help create problems by maintaining old patterns of distance.

One of the most interesting sources of interracial confrontation for teachers occurred in their perceptions of Negro students' intellectual ability. Over 75% of the teachers reported that before the desegregators entered their classes they did not think the Negro students would be as smart as the white students. By the end of the year or two of desegregation, however, half of that 75% had changed their minds; now only 38% of the teachers still thought Negro students were not as smart as whites. Even with such a small sample as ours, this is a major shift in views that has substantial import. Some quotations illustrating teachers' original and/or changed views include:

> There has been a study done at Columbia which proved that the brain of Negroes weighs less than of white people - but the government has suppressed the report. It is just a racial characteristic that they are not as smart. They are in the process of evolution- it's just like expecting a 3 year old child to be equal to an adult. The civilization in Abyssinia is the oldest in the world next to Japan and they are still living in mud huts. If they were equal they would be world leaders.
>
> I know the Negro ways, having lived with them all my life. Their environment has had much influence on their ability to learn. My thinking is that the native intellectual ability is not as great in Negro as in the white.
>
> Cultural deprivation - I thought they had the capacity, but it will take a generation or two before they can really perform. We're reaping what we have sown.
>
> Well, I suppose what we have always been told by our parents about the way in which they live led me to expect all bad and little good. I really like some of them as people; and I didn't believe before that I could have any kind of relationship with them - just tolerate them.... Teacher integration should help us understand how we can approach Negro students and accomplish more.
>
> I guess out of prejudice. The ones I had experience with were not in school. I think I thought they didn't want to learn. Today I think they are more eager to learn than the whites.

These quotes indicate some of the intellectual defenses constructed by some teachers, as well as the ways in which others truly wrestled with their prior views and in the face of their experience had to make some revisions in their judgments.

One of the concerns often raised with regard to school desegregation plans, especially when they involve social class heterogeneity as well, is that they will lead to a general lowering of standards. Such standards can range from academic through personal to moral outlooks and behaviors. More than 60% of the southern white teachers we interviewed said desegregation would not create such a tendency or problem in their school. Another 26% said standards might be lowered if all the affluent white students moved to private schools and all the poor Negroes moved in at once. Only 13% of the white teachers (5 out of 39) unequivocally felt that desegregation would lower standards. Most teachers who said that the problem wouldn't occur stressed their own control over the situation; they felt that if teachers and principals refused to lower standards they would not be lowered.

These particular data illustrate one more dimension of school and cultural change where we can see teachers caught between their generally anti-desegregation ideology and their commitment to perform as professional educators. Other data in this chapter suggest that some teachers underwent major changes in their views of Negro youngsters and adults as a result of their experiences with these students. This is an interesting reverse twist: whereas most educational research documents the effects of teachers on students' behaviors, we have here an important reciprocal effect. In view of strong peer and community pressures, a vital question becomes how to maintain and support teachers' new views and professional priorities. Given adequate support from peers and principals, and given increased training and patience to help overcome some of the problems in outlook, understanding or skill noted throughout this chapter, there is no reason to doubt that southern white teachers can move even more rapidly and fully in the direction of providing adequate instructional environments and experiences for all their students.

CHAPTER X

PERSPECTIVES ON THE PAST AND FUTURE

Although all these student and parent interviews were taken at the same time, at the end of the school year, we asked respondents some questions about how their views had changed over the year and what projections they could make for the future. While it would be more accurate to have had measures at both the beginning and the end of the year, the data here represent a beginning effort at understanding how youngsters and schools changed through the year.

One of the most dramatic changes in perception reported by the desegregating youngsters was their view of their own intellectual abilities in relation to white peers'. In answer to the question, "Before changing schools did you think the white students would be smarter?", 63% of the desegregators said "yes". When asked, "Are they smarter than you?" only 22% uniquivocally said "yes". These data are presented in Table 16.

(Table 16 here)

Table 16 indicates a statistically significant shift in response to this question. It is clear that before entering the white school Negro youngsters had a unrealistically low estimate of their abilities in relation to white students. Katz points out that one of the reasons for Negro low self regard and low expectancy of success is because "white standards of achievement are perceived as higher than own race standards."[34] Some of the desegregators offered other reasons as well:

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[34] Katz, I. Some Motivational Determinants of Racial Differences in Intellectual Achievement. International Journal of Psychology. (In Press) p.3

TABLE 16

DESEGREGATORS CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR INTELLECTUAL ABILITIES COMPARED TO WHITE PEERS

Are they smarter	Did you think they'd be smarter		
	Yes	No	Total
	(N=122)	(N=72)	(N=194)
Yes	43%	57%	(N= 42)
No	68%	32%	(N=152)

$X^2 = 8.2$; $p. < .01$

> I thought they had the best of everything.
>
> That's what I had been told - whites were smarter than colored people.
>
> Because the teachers at the Negro school used to tell us so.
>
> You don't hardly find any graduated colored folks getting jobs around here and most of them did.

Whatever the reasons behind this initial perception, the confrontation with reality personified by white classmates helped destroy at least one myth about racial inferiority. In this same context, 77% of the desegregators also reported that the white students were not as quiet and well behaved as they originally thought they would be. It would seem that this discovery, too, would tend to free the Negro youngsters from some of their inhibitions about expressing themselves in class and with white peers.

The majority of desegregators reported that the white students were acting differently towards them at the end of the year than they were at the beginning. Most of these changes were in a positive direction, including less fighting, rejection and isolation. Reciprocially, the majority of desegregators also indicate they changed some of their feelings toward white peers. Most of those who reported that they changed, did so in a positive direction. However, with 52% reporting change, and 54% of those changes reported as a positive change, that only includes one-fourth of the total population of desegregators. This means that another one-fourth changed in a negative or ambivalent direction and almost half report no change from their original or early feelings. Some roughly similar findings were manifest when desegregators were asked whether they trusted white peers more or less now. Forty-one percent of the Negro respondents indicated that they trusted whites less now, and 37% said they trusted them more. Some illustrative quotes indicating a few of the reasons for such changes follow:

> I trust them more because while we were in school they wouldn't tell the teacher what I did.
>
> I trust them more, I know them better. Most of the time they talk behind your back they don't mean it, they're only trying to scare you.
>
> It makes me feel bad because you can work side by side with them but when you come to school they act as if they don't know you. I trust them less, I feel that they don't mean what they say. They think Negroes are easily fooled, so they always try to play you for a fool.
>
> Trust less, whatever you say. They try to get information from you to take back to the other white people.

In another series of questions relevant to the changing quality of racial interaction we asked Negro students whether they had any contacts with white students outside of class, and whether they were friends with any of their white classmates. The majority of the desegregators reported that they have had contacts with white students outside of class, and 75% felt they are friends with at least some of their white peers. Perhaps even more importantly, most Negroes thought that more white students would have liked to be friends with them but were hesitant about taking any initiative. They reported a number of instances in which white students tried to reach out to them but couldn't sustain any positive interaction in public. The major barriers that Negro youngsters saw as standing in the way of whites' more open friendship were pressures from other white peers (52¢) and from parents (36%). In Chapter VI we reported some perceived interactions in which white students reacted negatively to overtures of friendship made by other whites to the Negro youngsters. It seems that desegregators saw and experienced contact and friendship with some whites within the context of a school and community environment that still inhibited and frustrated such social interaction.

These data seem to suggest that although specific Negro students may have developed new perceptions and interactions with specific white studetns, these new feelings may not be generalizable to all white students or to the white society at large. Moreover, these findings and reports in other chapters suggest that attending school with whites in itself may have little directly predictable effect on the resultant attitudes and perceptions of Negro youngsters; the quality of classroom social interaction is crucial. Peer interaction or teacher behavior that does not support friendship and collaboration in class is likely to lead to greater hostility and mistrust, and more negative behaviors, perceptions and attitudes.

Regardless of the positive or negative experiences and reflections on experiences described herein, the great majority of Negro youngsters stayed in the white school and were committed to following through on their decision to desegregate. Over 90% of the desegregators said that they would still choose to attend the white school if they had the decision to make over again. The major reasons cited were largely the same as the reasons given for the transfer in the first place: the opportunity for a better education, a better school with greater challenge, and feeling of increased learning. In addition, about one quarter of the sample reported gains in the area of their relations with whites; such as being able to make friends with whites, work with whites, and help change whites' views of Negroes. Overall, 83% of the desegregators unequivocally said they gained a lot from being in the white school, and the rest felt they made gains although they had been severely or moderately tempered by sacrifices. The sacrifices Negro students feel they made fall roughly into two categories. The largest number reported they missed some extra-curricular activities, and particularly their old activities and the friends they did them with in the Negro school. A smaller number said they missed their leisure because they had to work so much harder in the new school. In this connection it is clear that the desegregators' grades went down during the year significantly more often than did those of the control population. The details of this comparison are presented in Table 17.

(Table 17 here)

Despite these indications of the difficulty of work in the new school, not one desegregator mentioned lower grades, per se, as a sacrifice.

When asked about the general future of race relations, students were about equally divided between relatively militant and moderate strategic stances. Although many said that the best way to attain full rights was by speaking out, protesting and organizing politically (45%), even more argued for racial unity, self-improvement, patience and compromise with whites (55%). A division of similar proportions is evident with respect to the assessment of violence as an ultimately necessary tool for freedom. We asked them whether progress in civil rights would require the use of violence, and what would be the advantages or disadvantages of such a turn of events. Those students who opposed the use of violence (56%) argued that it wouldn't solve anything and that it was immoral and bad. On the other hand, those who saw potential benefits in violence (44%)

TABLE 17

SELF REPORT OF CHANGE IN GRADES DURING TWO SCHOOL YEARS IN DESEGREGATOR AND CONTROL POPULATION

Change	Desegregator	Control
	(N=197)	(N=275)
Grades went up	11.3%	26.6%
Grades stayed the same	28.2%	49.3%
Grades went down	60.5%	24.0%

$X^2 = 29.5$; $p. < .01$

felt it could be used if laws were broken, that it was something whites could understand, and that it was sometimes necessary to make whites give in. One student described in some detail her altered feelings about more or less militant change strategies.

> At the age of 14 you have somewhat of a childish innocence and you want to share your love and compassion for humanity. At least I did. When the white students boycotted it left me with a feeling of a loss of compassion and love for the other race. This loss however was not very evident because I was still motivated to continue the struggle for integration. Because of people always turning their backs on you and murderers being acquitted you develop a hard shell, one that cannot allow for a lot of love and compassion, only enough to get by. From integrating I went to desegregating public churches where a race riot occurred. This was my first time in a race riot. When I saw my friends being knifed and beaten with guns and bats I knew then that this was not the way. Not just the integration of but all of the incidents I have described here molded me into a Black Power advocate. Not an advocate of violence, Black Power does not stand for violence, but an advocate of a new method besides school integration. I do not think you can accomplish any major feat in this way. Too many black children are being destroyed by the time they reach 16.

CHAPTER XI

PLANNING FOR CHANGE

The general purpose of this study is to gain a greater understanding of the dynamics of racial desegregation processes in public schools in the deep south. In order to achieve this goal we conducted interviews with a sample of Negro youngsters who transferred to previously all-white schools and a sample of like-age, like-neighborhood Negro peers who chose not to transfer. In both samples we also interviewed every yountster's parent. Further, a small sample of white teachers who taught in desegregated classrooms was interviewed.

It has been noted that this report presents only the start of an analysis of the data gathered, and more complex analyses must be continued. But in addition to the need for further analysis, we are concerned with making plans for the utilization of our findings in order to facilitate school change. It is clear that many southern educators are ready to change their accustomed patterns and desire to make the desegregation experience and the interracial classroom learning situation more successful for all concerned. These educators are a critical group of potential collaborators in change; they could well utilize the findings of this study to improve their teaching and administrative styles. In addition, a number of findings seem to be relevant to new preparations and operations by other elements of the southern Negro and white communities.

The problems involved in attempting to utilize scientific findings for the planning of educational or social change are by no means meager or simple. But neither are they insurmountable; and scientists at the Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge have been experimenting with a variety of designs for training and retraining educational, industrial and governmental practitioners. The environments for these planned utilization efforts have included one-day, two-day, one week, two week and four week residential workshops, as well as longer spaced seminars of a weekly or bi-weekly nature. The strategies employed in various studies and programs have included: lectures and speeches by outside consultants; problem identification, problem diagnosing and problem-solving exercises; sensitivity training groups; role playing; survey feedback (wherein a practitioner is presented with data about his or her own self, classroom or workgroup); recording or videotape feedback; sessions focussing on the derivation of action implications and change efforts from research data; the development of inside-outside support teams (wherein an outside consultant and a school liaison agent collaborate to stimulate and support change); and problem-sharing sessions designed to reduce pluralistic ignorance. A number of these innovative designs eventually need to be considered and applied to the populations and problems under investigation in this study.

The central assumptions of all of these planned change strategies include: (1) merely sharing or publishing scientific findings does little to generate utilization or change programs; (2) practitioners and scientists need to collaborate in moving from findings through implications to action efforts; (3) practitioners need help in understanding testing and applying findings and implications in concrete change programs; (4) when we talk about utilizing findings relevant to persons' attitudes and behavior we are probably considering a complex set of problems in personal and organizational change.

With this brief background into some of the problems of planning for change, let us review the findings of this study and some of their implications for the planning of educational change. One of the clear findings reported here is that most Negro youngsters made the decision to transfer to the white schools by themselves; 90% of the students and 60% of the parents so reported. Furthermore, the most important reason for the transfer seems to be a feeling that the white school offers greater educational advantages, facilities, quality of instruction and opportunities for growth. A curiosity about working with white people and concerns for racial change are distant seconds. It is interesting in this regard that many white teachers did not know or misperceived the reasons Negro students had for transferring. Several teachers felt desegregators were interested only in racial change and several others felt youngsters were pushed into going to white schools by their families or by civil rights groups; a number of teachers reported that they didn't know why the Negroes transferred. If the white educational community were informed clearly about these youngsters' real motivations and autonomy would they be able to respect and respond to them more positively? Of course no answer can be given here, but the misperceptions noted may make tackling this question a fruitful avenue of work.

Another finding that has important implications for the management of educational systems is the Negro youngsters' perceptions of and reactions to interaction with white youngsters early in the year. It is quite clear that racial mixing in itself did not guarantee an environment necessarily conducive to academic growth or the formation of positive interracial attitudes. The majority of Negro youngsters felt white students received them with largely negative reactions; these reactions ranged from indifferent stares to name-calling, hostility and physical rejection. Some positive and friendly overtures were made by white students and some youngsters developed friendships later in the year, but this experience was late in occurring and did not occur universally. One index of this continuing estrangement and discomfort might be Negroes' sense of social isolation and insecurity. If educators cannot count on desegregation automatically bringing about postive effects in classroom, they must plan to intervene to do something about it.

Teachers and youngsters alike reported that teachers generally did nothing special to facilitate or insure good social relations in the classroom. Some teachers took this laissez-faire stance out of a commitment to not emphasize existing differences, out of nervousness that trouble might develop, out of ignorance of the existing state of youngsters' feelings, out of misunderstandings of cultural differences, or out of passive resentment against the desegregators. In no serious way did teachers organize their class or class work to deal with the feelings and reactions at work in most of these classes. When this stance is considered in the light of findings about the significant relation between perceived positive or negative teacher behavior and positive or negative reactions of white students, it is clear that teachers and administrators needed to make dramatic classroom interventions to alter the traditionally distant and negative patterns of racial interaction. The priority of this concern is heightened by the evidence that although a substantial number of desegregators reported they made some friends with white students, many also reported they trusted white people less as a result of their experience. Is this new perspective to be considered a realistic response to a close-up view of Negro-white relations, or is it an alterable reaction to specific patterns of classroom interaction? Here is a critical frontier calling for the collaboration of scholars in interracial matters, educational practitioners, and community representatives: how can we manage the school desegregation and classroom interaction processes so that youngsters of different races can learn together successfully? Teachers, administrators and educational change agents need to be armed with such diagnostic material as is presented here, but must go beyond it to creative and courageous intervention strategies that can permit and enable Negro and white youngsters to have positive interracial interaction in school.

Although most teachers talked with their colleagues who also had experience in an interracial classroom, there is no evidence that any meaningful sharing was accomplished. Despite the fact that a number of teachers expressed generally similar problems in dealing with certain curriculum areas, such unguided interaction was more like a griping session than a mutual help experience.[35] What kinds of professional sharing, consultation or retraining sessions can be built to capitalize on peer insight and expertise in this area? If white educators are to come together to work on the problems of classroom desegregation, what steps can be taken to reduce their own pluralistic ignorance and fear of sanction from each other? We have reported at least one teachers' inhibitions about taking or expressing positive steps regarding racial desegregation because of her fears of peer reprisal or disapproval.

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[35] Chesler and Barakat, op.cit.report the usual and typical lack of connection between teachers' informal conversations and professional problem solving. Several experiments to make better professional use out of such sharing opportunities are reported in: Fox, R. and Lippitt, R. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices, II: Procedures for Stimulating Adoption and Adaptation of Selected Teaching Practices. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1967.

Another area of potential change suggested by these findings is the character of preparation and support for desegregation supplied by the Negro community. In particular, the Negro educational community seems both to have facilitated youngsters' decisions to transfer and to have provided and reinforced them with dysfunctional perspectives on "life in the white school". The Negro youngsters' general expectations that white students would be smarter and better behaved than they were, no doubt is a product of our entire culture, and an indictment of social systems that keep people separate and permit them to relate largely on the basis of cultural mythology. But these expectations were also unrealistically reinforced by Negro educators; partly due no doubt to their own cultural training, but also due to their desire to impress the desegregators with how hard they would have to work and how much they would have to improve themselves to keep up with the whites. It is unclear how helpful such preparation was and it is an appropriate question to ask what other preparation can Negro educators, parents and community leaders make to help support and facilitate their youngsters' positive initiatives?

It is not our function to answer this variety of critical questions; if they are posed by the findings of this study it is now up to collaborative teams of scientists and practitioners to search for answers that can be tested in the schools and classrooms that need help. It is clear, however, that certain kinds of broad programs might fruitfully be developed. For instance action implications and dilemmas explored here suggest the need for more adequate training and retraining programs for southern teachers and school administrators. As we consider these implications it is vital to remember that change in educational practice is a complex matter, necessitating close attention to the gap between revised attitudes or intentions and actual behavior. Moreover, individual teachers or principals often must operate within an organizational and community environment that is not necessarily supportive of the types of change envisioned by federal agencies. Any retraining program that truly seeks to utilize these findings and make plans to help modify practice must take these concerns into account and help prepare educators to deal with them.

Any utilization design developed out of the findings of this study should include some attention to the assumptions and feelings that white educators have with regard to Negro youngsters in general and desegregating students in particular. Teachers will be more likely to be effective in the classroom if they are conscious of their feelings and able to control the way such views may affect classroom interaction. In addition opportunities should be provided for teachers and administrators to check the reality level of their assumptions about who the desegregators are, where they come from and what they want. One or two days of discussion and planning before school opens is not sufficient time to encourage or enable teachers to deal with their own feelings on such matters. These short-term, low-intensity planning sessions may rather allow the covering up of true feelings and thereby foster neither personal growth nor social change. Teachers must be helped to see and interpret — through data, direct reports by students, role-playing episodes or actual classroom practice - how their feelings and teaching styles may effect their students. Longer designs for the examination of such issues and the planning of change efforts should, of course, include racially mixed populations if possible.

Another critical problem in the design of school change programs is the necessity to help practitioners move from research findings to specific and concrete change strategies. Theory and research literature, subjective reports of personal experience, as well as the findings of this study need to be examined to derive their behavioral implications. Only through such an examination can change notions be tested against the reality of the classroom. Further, a range of alternative and feasible teaching strategies or practices is probably the stimulant most likely to encourage teachers to adapt or adopt such methods in their own classes.

Recent research has demonstrated the importance of professional peers for the generation and maintenance of teacher change.[36] It may be possible for utilization designs to help build professional sub-communities supportive of change in the teaching of desegregated classes. Or, it may be possible to put willing and interested teachers in touch with peer expertise either within their school or in neighboring school systems. Failing this, it seems necessary to help prepare teachers who have undergone special training to deal with the difficult problem of re-entry into a professional staff that may be hostile and resistant of new efforts in this area.

At this point the findings and implications of this study appear to be quite meaningful and a number of future studies and change projects are appropriate to consider: (1) studies of the reactions of white students and parents in the white private-school movement in the deep South; (2) a review of the plans designed, and the conflicts faced by principals who are attempting to mediate old and new educational traditions; (3) interviews with local Negro leaders and community organizers of school desegregaton movements; (4) comparisons of these data with comparable studies of Northern school desegregation; (5) explorations of the classroom or school management strategies that are suggested by these findings; and (6) experimental programs designed to engage broadly based collaboration in designing classroom strategies or to communicate the results of such explorations to practitioners in an attempt to foster professional change efforts.

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[36] Chesler and Barakat, op.cit.; Fox and Lippitt, op.cit.

There is no doubt that the findings of this study could, under the best of circumstances, be of only little use to educators unless they themselves have the desire and interest in improving racial desegregation patterns in southern schools.The various utilization designs noted here speak to the possibility of increasing information and skill, not to the generation of interest and reorganization of people's values. Such value change is not the proper purview of our efforts here; that may represent and require a very different program of change. But it is clear that there are many southern educators who wish to move toward more positive racial relations in their schools and classes. It is in the professional interest and responsibility of social scientists to lend their efforts to the research, design and facilitatation of such change. It is our hope that this study, and the discussion of its findings and implications, have contributed to that collaborative end.

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Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

May 30, 1966

We are doing a scientific study of certain kinds of changes in schools and in education in the South. It is our intention to interview several hundred young Negro students who are attending predominantly white schools throughout the state of Alabama.

According to our records, ______________________ is attending a racially desegregated school. We would like to talk with him (her) about this experience. In a separate interview, we would like to talk with one or both parents. Each interview will take between one hour and an hour and a half.

In about one week, one of our interviewers will call to make an appointment to visit with you. These interviewers will all be outstanding students in our Social Sciences program here at Tuskegee Institute. This is a scientific study which will help us better understand and plan for improved education and continued desegregation throughout the South. It is one of many studies on race relations and the Negro community being done at Tuskegee Institute.

All interviews will be treated confidentially. In no case will your name or personal characteristics be made public. In fact, the reason why we are going to interview many people throughout the state is because we want to discover broad trends that affect many people; the individual cases are not so important to us.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation. We have been aided in this project already by many lawyers, community leaders and scholars. We hope you will be able to help by being available for an interview. We are sure you will find it a pleasant and rewarding experience.

If you have any questions, now or later, please do not hesitate to call or write to me directly.

Sincerely yours,

Mark A. Chesler

Mark A. Chesler
Research Associate
Social Science Research Dep't.
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

(727-2000, Ext. 219)

Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Student Interview #1. (Desegregator)

Name: ______________________

Address: ______________________

____

Phone: ______________________

Interviewer's name: ______________

Date: ___________

Return to Mark A. Chesler

5. ______________ ______________________________

6. ______________ ______________________________

7. ______________ ______________________________

8. ______________ ______________________________

9. ______________ ______________________________

10. ______________ ______________________________

WE ARE GOING TO START OFF WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY

1. How old are you? __________

2. Do you have any brothers or sisters? yes______ No______

   If YES: How old are they, and what are they doing now?

   1. ______ ____________________________________

   2. ______ ____________________________________

   3. ______ ____________________________________

   4. ______ ____________________________________

   (If more, use the back of the preceeding page)

3. What grade are you in in school? __________

4. What school do you attend? ____________________________

   a. About how long does it take you to get to school in the morning?

   ____

   b. How do you get there? ______________________________

5. How long have you been going to that school? __________________

6. What school did you go to before that? ____________________

   a. How long did it take you to get to that school in the morning?

   ____

   b. And how did you get there? ______________________________

7. What is the name of your homeroom teacher? __________________

8. What was your grade average when you were attending your old school?

   ____

   a. Has that changed any in the school you've been attending this year?

      Yes _____ No ______

      If YES: Has it gone up, or down, and how much?

      Why has it changed?

9. Do you plan to remain in school until you complete high school, or do you plan to leave school before then?

____

a. What would you like to do when you're through with high school? (If JOB, go to question 10. If COLLEGE, or TRADE SCHOOL, ask below and question 10.)

If COLLEGE or TRADE SCHOOL

What school would you like to go to?

____

____

What subject (s) would you take mostly?

____

____

Will you need scholarship help?

Yes _____ No ______

10. What kind of job would you like to have? ____________________

____

a. What would you like to be doing in ten years?

b. Are there any problems or difficulties in doing that?

11. What kind of a job do you think you probably will have? __________

____

a. About how much money would you make per year at that?

____

12. Would you rather live in the North or in the South? No ____ So ____

Why?

a. Where (specifically by state and city) would you like to live?

____

If NORTH: Do you think you would ever return to the South to live?

Yes ______ No ________

Why?

13. Have you ever traveled out of the state? Yes ______ No _______

a. To where?

b. Have you ever traveled to the North?

14. Here are several statements people sometimes make. Please tell me whether you agree of disagree with each of them. There are no right or wrong answers, just give me your opinion.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is only when a person devotes himself to a purpose that life becomes meaningful.		
b. To compromise with our opponents is dangerous.		
c. A lot of people I know don't really understand the nations' problems.		
d. Any good leader should be strict with the people under him in order to gain their respect.		
e. There are two kinds of people in the world; the strong and the weak.		
f. The most important thing to teach to children is absolute obedience to their parents.		
g. More and more I feel helpless because of what is happening in the world today.		
h. It is not possible for me to really influence what happens in society at large.		
i. My family really doesn't have any say about what the government does.		
j. Things are so confused nowadays I hardly know what is right or wrong any more.		

15. Now I am going to read several statements that do not have an ending. As soon as I read them I want to to fill in an ending. Just tell me the first thing that comes to your mind.

a. Compared with most families mine ______________________________

b. I am best when ______________________________

c. Sometimes I think I am ______________________________

d. I am not good when ______________________________

e. Mothers should learn that ______________________________

f. I wish my father ______________________________

g. A nice thing about my family ______________________________

16. How close would you say you are to your parents?

______ Very close ______ Pretty close ______ Not too close

a. Are you closer to one parent than to the other?

Yes ________ No ________

If YES, which one? ______________________

Why?

b. Are there things about which you and your parents disagree?

Yes ________ No ________

If YES, what sorts of things? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

17. What three most important things would you like to be or to have as an adult?

1.

2.

3.

18. Have you thought of getting married? Yes _____ No _______

   a. When do you think you might get married?

   b. How many children would you like to have?

   Why that number?

19. If you could choose, which of the people I will describe would you most like to be?

   a. A person who is a leader, and who is able to influence others

   b. A person who is friendly, and who has many friends

   c. A person who is able to make or do things well

   Why did you choose as you did?

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SCHOOL YOU GO TO, AND HOW YOU DECIDED TO GO THERE. WE WANT TO KNOW AS MUCH ABOUT THIS AS POSSIBLE, SO BE SURE TO ADD YOUR IDEAS AND LOTS OF DETAILS IF YOU THINK I'VE LEFT OUT ANYTHING IMPORTANT. (Interviewer remember to fill in the name of the new, desegregated school in the following questions.)

20. What made you decide to change schools and attend ________________
(If someone else, such as parent, decided, what made them decide?)

   a. Was that the most important reason?

   b. What else was important to you?

21. Here is a list of some people who may be important to you. Please tell me how each of them felt about the decision to go to a different school, and whether or not they influenced, or helped or hindered, you in your decision.

a. First, how about yourself - how did you feel?

b. Now here are some others

	felt	Helped or hindered - how?
Mother	____________	____________________
		____________________
Father	____________	____________________
		____________________
Friends	____________	____________________
		____________________
Minister	____________	____________________
		____________________
Teachers	____________	____________________
		____________________
Others (whom)	____________	____________________

c. If any of these people were against you're going to the new school, can you tell me any more about why they were against it?

22. Did anyone from any civil rights organizations try to help you?

Yes _____ No _______

If YES: In what ways did they try, and were they helpful?

23. How many Negro students from around here are going to school with you?

____

a. Did you know any of them before school started? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: How many of them did you know, how well?

24. When did you start going to __________________ school?
(September, February, etc.)

a. How did you get there the first day?

(If by bus, was the bus integrated?)

b. Did anyone go with you?

c. Were the police around when you got to school?

25. How did you feel the first day? (GET DETAILS)
(If nervous, what about)

a. What did you expect would happen?

b. Were you worried about what might happen? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: What were you worried about?

26. How did the other Negro students who went with you feel?

27. Did anything special happen on the way to school?

a. Were you stopped by anyone or any group?

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28. Did the teacher pay any special attention to you on the first day?

Yes ______ No ______

If YES: In what ways?

29. Did the principal call you aside and talk with you? Yes ___ No ___

If YES: What did he have to say?

If he told you about school rules, what did he say?

30. Did you attend regular classes the first days? Yes _____ No ______

If NO: Why not? What did you do instead?

a. Did you leave school at the same time as everyone else? Yes ___ No ___

If NO: Whose idea was that?

What did you think about it?

31. Is there anything you can remember about how the white students reacted to you on the first day?

a. Did they do anything out of the ordinary?

b. Did they call you any names? Yes _____ No ______

If YES: What did they say?

c. Can you think of anything else any of the white students did? (DETAILS)

32. How do you think the white students felt on that first day when they saw you coming into the school?

a. Were any of them friendly to you? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: What did they do?

What happened then?

33. Are the white students acting any differently now? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: In what ways?

a. Have any of the white students started friendly conversations with you?

Yes _____ No _____

If YES: How often does this happen?

How does this make you feel?

b. How do the other white students seem to feel about it when one of them is friendly with you?

c. Do the white students tease you? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: About what (DETAILS)

What do you do when they do this?

If NO: Do they tease other Negro students? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: Why do you think they tease others but not you?

34. Some Negro students who have gone to mostly white schools said that they had some trouble "being themselves". Can you tell me what they might have meant by this?

a. Did anything of this sort bother you? In what ways?

35. Have you ever invited any of the white students to your home?

Yes ______ No _______

a. Why or why not? (DETAILS)
(If parents wouldn't let them, ask why parents wouldn't)
(Same with friends)

b. If YES: did he or she come, why or why not?

36. Have any of the white students ever invited you to their homes?

Yes ______ No _______

a. Why did they? Or, why didn't they?

b. If YES: did you go? why or why not?

37. Did you, this past year, have any other contacts with the white students outside of school?

Yes ______ No ________

If YES: In what ways?

a. Do you have any white friends?

b. Would you like to have more of the white students as friends?

c. How do you think the white students feel about this; would more of them like to be friends with you? (continue on next page)

37. (Continued)

If some white students would like to be friends with you),
what do you think is holding them back?
(If parents or friends, ask how?)

38. As a result of going to school with white students, do you feel any differently toward them?

Yes ______ No ______

If YES: In what ways?

a. One student said that he saw how the whites talk behind his back and don't mean what they say. He says that he doesn't trust them as much now as he did before. Another student said that he knew them better and as a result would trust them more. Do you trust them more or less now? Why?

39. Before you changed schools, did you think that most of the white students would be smarter than you? Yes ______ No ______

If YES: Why did you think that?

40. What about now, are the white students as smart as you thought they'd be?

Yes ______ No ______

In what ways?

a. Are they as quiet and well behaved?

Did you expect that?

41. In what ways are the white students different from you?

Any other ways?

a. In what ways are they similar to you?

b. Are many of them planning to go to college?

42. How do your white teachers cmmpare with teachers you had in Negro schools in the past?

_______better _______worse _______ same _______different

a. Please,explain why you said what you did? In what ways are they ______?

b. Do they seem to be fair?

c. Has any of them ever called you names, been unfair, or made you feel unwelcome in class? Yes _____ No _______

If YES: Please tell me some more about it? (GET DETAILS)

d. Do you usually express yourself in class? Yes _____ No ______

Are there things you don't feel free to talk about in class?

Do the white students talk about these things?

43. Here are some other types of questions about your classroom and classmates. They are fill-in types without endings such as we had before; just give me your quick ending to each statement.

a. If I could change one thing about the classroom I would ____________

____

b. In a social situation with white students I feel ____________

____

c. In a social situation with Negro students I feel ____________

____

d. In the classroom the white students ____________

e. When the white students meet me they ____________

44. Are you active in any clubs or sports at school? Yes _____ No _____

If NO: Are you allowed to be?

If YES: Which ones	Leadership positions	White students in it too?
________	________	________
________	________	________
________	________	________

a. Were you as active, more active, or less active in your old school?

_______ as active _______ more active _______ less active

45. Are you still friendly with your old classmates in the Negro school?

Yes _______ No _______

If YES: Do you still see them as often as before you changed schools?

If NO: Why not?

(Continued)

45. (Continued)
  a. Have any of their opinions of you changed? In what ways?

    Do any of them ask you questions about what's going on?

    Are any of them less friendly?

  b. Will some of them change their schools in the fall?

46. How did your old teachers react when you first told them you were transferring schools?

  a. Did any of them tell you not too, or that it wouldn't be a good idea? Yes ______ No ______

    If YES: What did they say?

  b. Did any of them tell you what to do and how to behave?

    Were they helpful suggestions?

  c. What else did they say or feel?

  d. Do you ever go back and see any of these teachers? Which ones?

47. Some Negro students who are going to white schools say they have learned a great deal and gained a lot. Others say they have not learned much and have made many sacrifices. How do you feel about this?

  a. What have you gained?

  b. What sacrifices have you made; or, what have you missed out on?

48. Are there any services that the white students get that you don't? For instance:

Do they get		Do you get
______________	bus rides to school	______________
______________	hot lunches	______________
______________	free lunches	______________
______________	OTHER THINGS	______________
______________		______________

49. Suppose there were three times as many Negro students in the school than there are now. What difference would that make in what goes on? Why would it make a difference?

50. Have you ever advised another person your age to transfer to the white school? Yes _______ No _______

If YES: What did you tell him (her) to prepare for?

If NO: If you were going to, what things would you tell him to be prepared for?

51. If you had the decision to make over again, would you still choose to attend the white school?

Yes _______ No _______

And why?

52. Now here are a few short statement sometimes made about school and education. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is good to take part in classroom work as much as possible.		
b. Getting along with your classmates is as important as schoolwork.		
c. I work hard on what's being taught in school.		
d. The teacher is fair.		
e. The white children in class do better than me.		
f. Since I changed schools I like white people better.		
g. Since I changed schools I trust white people more.		
h. The new school is better than the old one.		

Please explain why you feel this way (h)

____

____

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT SOME OTHER THINGS.

53. What three things, in order of their importance, do you think are important for a person to show he is a good citizen.

a. He obeys the laws. _____

b. He goes to church. _____

c. He minds his own business. _____

d. He dislikes communists. _____

e. He doesn't think he is better than people of other races or religions.

f. He votes in elections. _____

g. He pays taxes. _____

h. He is proud of his country. _____

i. He believes that free enterprise is better than socialism. _____

j. Other _____

54. In your opinion, who are three very good leaders around here?

Name?	What is it about him or her that makes him (her) so good?
a. ______________	______________________
b. ______________	______________________
c. ______________	______________________

55. The Constitution of the United States guarantees certain rights for everyone. In your opinion, are any rights being violated in the United States today? Yes ______ No ________

If YES: Please explain which rights are being violated by whom, where?

56. What is the purpose of government in your opinion?

57. Sometimes white persons will say that they are against school desegregation because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

a. What do they mean by that?

b. Will desegregation lead to a lowering of standards?

58. Sometimes white persons will say that they are opposed to school desegregation because it will lead to intermarriage between the races. What are they afraid of when they say that?

a. Will it lead to that?

59. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only one empty seat left. A white woman has sitting in the seat next to it and she had some packages lying on the seat that was empty. Which of the following things do you think you would do?

a. Move to the back of the bus
b. Stand somewhere else
c. Ask her to remove her packages
d. Stand near her, say nothing and hope she will notice you and pick up her packages.

60. What will it take for the Negro to get full rights and privileges due to a citizen in the South?

a. Do you think it will take violence? Why or why not?

b. And how long do you think it will take?

61. Here are a few more statements I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with.

	Agree	Disagree
a. I don't see much sense in Negroes sticking their necks out and getting into trouble trying to change things in the South.		
b. Negroes who are not treated as first class citizens here in the U.S. should not go and fight for the U.S. in some foreign country.		
c. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a white person.		
d. White people will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.		
e. All Negroes should stick together in order to get fair treatment.		
f. Basically, almost all white people are prejudiced against Negroes in one way or the other.		
g. Whites are not going to change by themselves, unless we give them a good push.		
h. I feel I should be one of the first Negroes working actively to change things in the South.		
i. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.		
j. The problems of other minority groups, such as Jews and Puerto Ricans, are no concern of mine.		

62. Some people feel it was a good idea for the United States to join the United Nations. Others feel that the U.N. hasn't really been very useful. How do you feel about that?

a. Do you think we should stay in the United Nations?

b. Should we stay in, or get out, if Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations?

_______ stay in _______ get out

Why do you feel this way?

63. Do you think that the differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China are:

_______ very great

_______ not too great

_______ small

_______ very small

64. There has been much talk about Communists operating within this nation. Do you think there are many communists in the government?

_______ many _______ some _______ few

a. Do they represent a danger to us?

_______ great danger _______ some danger

_______ little danger _______ no danger

65. What kinds of people are most likely to be Communists in America?

66. Did you follow the recent primary election for Governor in the Democratic party in Alabama? Yes ____ No ____

a. If you had been able to vote, who would you have voted for?

Why?

b. Did your parents talk about the political race? What did they say to you about it?

c. Who would you have voted for for sheriff?

67. Do you ordinarily pay much attention to public affairs and current events? Yes ____ No ____

a. What issues especially interest you?

b. How often do you read the newspapers for information about current affairs?

c. What paper do you usually read?

d. What other papers or magazines do you get here?

68. Can you give me the name of another student your age near here?

a. Where does he or she live?

b. What school does he or she go to?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

THUMBNAIL: TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOUSE

1. Condition of the building (by observation)

__________ sound __________ deteriorating __________ dilapidated

2. Condition of the furniture and furnishings (by observation).

____excellent _____ good ____ average _____ poor ____ deteriorated

3. Housekeeping style (by observation)

___ everything orderly, nothing out of place

___ average neatness and order

___ things in disarray

4. How close is the nearest house?

___ 10 yards or less

___ between 10 and 100 yards

___ further than 100 yards

5. Are the streets outside the house paved? Yes ____ No _____

6. How was rapport with the respondent?

___Excellent throughout ___ poor throughout

___ average ___ started poor, got good

___ started good, got poor

7. What is the respondent's color - complexion?

_______ dark ________ medium _______ light

8. Length of interview: ________ hours _________ minutes

9. ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD HELP US INTERPRET THIS INTERVIEW
(Use the back of the preceeding pages or add a page if necessary)

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Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Parent Inverview #1 (Desegregator)

Name: ______________________________

Address: ___________________________

____

Phone: ______________________________

Mother ____ Father ____

Interviewer's name: __________________

Date: ________________________________

Return to Mark A. Chesler

WE ARE GOING TO START OFF WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY.

1. Who lives in this house?

2. (If not clear) Are you married, widowed, divorced, single, or what?

    If MARRIED: Is this your first marriage, or have you been married before?

    How long have you been married?

    If DIVORCED: Was that your first marriage? Yes ____ No _____

    How long have you been divorced?

    Have you remarried?

    If WIDOWED: Was that your first marriage? Yes ____ No _____

    How long has your husband (wife) been dead?

    Have you remarried? Yes ____ No ______

3. How long have your lived in this town? ________________________

    a. Where did you live before that?

    How long did you live there?

    b. Why did you move here?

4. Have you ever lived at any other address in this town?

    Yes _____ No ______

    If YES, why did you move to this house?

5. Do you have a job, either full-time or part-time? Yes ____ No _____

   If YES, what do you do?

   Do you have a boss?

   Do you supervise anyone at this job?

   How well satisfied are you with this job?

   About how much money do you make on this job? (weekly)

6. Does your husband (wife) work full or part-time? Yes _____ No _____

   If YES: Is that full or part-time?

   What does he (she) do?

   Does he (she) have a boss?

   Does he (she) supervise anyone?

   How well satisfied is he (she) with this job?

   What are his (her) chances for promotion?

   About how much money does he (she) make on this job? (weekly)

7. How many years of schooling have you completed? (Interviewer use check.)

   ______ none
   ______ less than four years
   ______ four to eight years
   ______ some high school
   ______ high school grad
   ______ some college
   ______ college grad
   ______ post-college

   a. And how many years of schooling has your husband (wife) completed? (Interviewer go back and circle the response.)

8. How many children do you have? ______________

How old is each one and where are they living now?

1. _____ ______________________________

2. _____ ______________________________

3. _____ ______________________________

4. _____ ______________________________

5. _____ ______________________________

(If more, use the back of the preceeding page.)

9. Compared to other families you know, would you say that you and your husband (wife) get (got) along:

_____ extremely well   _____ about average   _____ not too well

10. Here is list of decisions often made in the family. Please tell me who usually makes them.

	husband	wife	each individually	both together
a. in general				
b. punishing children				
c. voting				
d. which TV show to watch				
e. spending money				

11. What is your religion? ______________

If PROTESTANT, specify: ____________

12. About how often do you usually attend religious services?

_____ twice a week or more   _____ two or three times month

_____ once a week   _____ once a month

_____ on special occasions   _____ never

a. and how often does your husband (wife) attend? (Use circle.)

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13. Do you believe in a life after death, or not? Yes _____ No ______

If YES: Do you believe that in the next life some people will be punished and others rewarded by God, or not?

14. Here are four statements which have been made about the Bible. I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your view.

a. The Bible is God's word and all it says is true.

b. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic teachings are true, but because the writers were men, it contains some human errors.

c. The Bible is a valuable book, because it was written by wise and good men, but God had nothing to do with it.

d. The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is of little value today.

15. Where were you born? ________________________________

a. And where was your husband (wife) born? ________________

16. Have you ever travelled outside of this state? Yes ____ No _____

If YES: Have you ever travelled outside of the South

Yes _____ No _______

If YES: Was that with or without your husband (wife)?

Where did you go?

Was it a business or a pleasure trip?

When was that?

17. Would you say that a young person who is in elementary or secondary school is getting as good an education as young people did thirty years ago, a better one, a worse one, or what?

a. In what ways are things better now?

b. In what ways were things better then?

18. What is the most important thing the schools around here ought to be doing or try to do in the next two years.

    a. What else would be very important?

19. Now I am going to read you several statements people sometimes make. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is only when a person devotes himself to a purpose that life becomes meaningful.		
b. To compromise with our opponents is dangerous.		
c. A lot of people I know don't really understand the nations' problems.		
d. Any good leader should be strict with the people under him in order to gain their respect		
e. There are two kinds of people in the world; the strong and the weak.		
f. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.		
g. More and more I feel helpless because of what is happening in the world today.		
h. It is not possible for me to really influence what happens in society at large.		
i. My family really doesn't have any say about what the government does.		
j. Things are so confused nowadays, I hardly know what is right and wrong anymore.		
k. People should take care of themselves more instead of always asking the government to help them.		
l. A man can't be respected unless he has worked hard for some goal.		
m. A man who doesn't believe in God should not be elected to public office.		

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20. Do you belong to any organizations that have regular meetings, such as political clubs, PTA'S, church organizations, veterans' groups, etc?

Yes ____ No _____

If YES: What are some of them? How often do you attend meetings?

1. ____________________________ ____________________________________
2. ____________________________ ____________________________________
3. ____________________________ ____________________________________
4. ____________________________ ____________________________________
5. ____________________________ ____________________________________

a. Have you ever been an officer in charge of any activities of any of these groups? Yes _____ No ______

If YES: What positions in which groups? (by number)

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SON (DAUGHTER), AND HIS (HER) AND YOUR EXPERIENCES WHEN HE (SHE) WENT TO SCHOOL THIS YEAR.

21. How close would you say you are to ______________________?

______ Very close _______ Pretty close ______ not very close

a. Is he (she) closer to you, or to your husband (wife)?

Why is that?

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22. Are there any things about which you and your son (daughter) disagree?

Yes ______ No ______

If YES: What are some examples?

a. In what ways is ______________ different from your other children?

23. How much education do you want him (her) to have?

If COLLEGE: What college do you want him (her) to go to?

Have you made plans to finance this?

24. What three things would you most like him (her) to be or to have as an adult?

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____

25. If you could choose, which of the people I describe would you most like him (her) to be?

a. A person who is able to influence others, and who is a good leader.

b. A person who is friendly and who has many friends.

c. A person who is able to make and do things well.

Why did you choose as you did?

26. What kind of a job would you like him (her) to have?

a. About how much would he (she) make at that?

b. If SON: Would you be satisfied if he were a:

teacher ______
cook ______
doctor ______
musician ______
engineer ______
sailor ______
writer ______
lawyer ______
laborer ______
carpenter ______
farmer ______
soldier ______

(Interviewer: check all those which apply.)

c. If DAUGHTER: Would you be satisfied if she were a:

teacher ______
cook ______
secretary ______
maid ______
housewife ______
nurse ______
engineer ______
social worker ______
beautician ______

27. When it was decided that ______ would change school and go to ______, who made the decision? (Fill in names.)

a. Were any other people involved in the decision?

b. Did you ask anyone else's help or advice? Yes ____ No ____

If YES: Who, and what did they say?

1. ______________ ______________

2. ______________ ______________

3. ______________ ______________

28. (If married) Did you and your husband (wife) agree with each other?

Yes ____ No ____

If YES: Were there any disagreements at all?

If NO: Specifically, what did you disagree about?

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29. What finally decided you in favor of the change in schools? (If it was son or daughter's decision, or they wanted to, what made you decide to go along?)

    a. Was that the most important reason?

    b. Was anything else important?

30. What did you think would happen the first day?

    a. Were you concerned for his (her) safety at all?

    b. What were you especially concerned about?

31. Did anything unusual happen to you or your family? (GET DETAILS)

    a. Did anyone call or talk with you and congratulate you?

    Yes ____ No ____

    If YES: Who was that and what did they say?

    b. Did anyone put pressure on you not to change schools? Yes ___ No ___

    If YES: Who was that and what did they say or do?

    c. Did anyone threaten you or your (Husband's) wife's job or land?

    Yes ____ No ____

    If YES: Who was that and what did they threaten?

(Continued)

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31. (Continued)
d. Were any of these threats carried out? Yes _____ No ______

__If YES:__ In what ways?

32. Did you receive any calls, or have any conversations with whites?

Yes _______ No _______

__If YES__: What did they say?

33. How did your Negro neighbors react?

a. Did any of them discourage you? Yes _____ No _______

__If YES:__ Why did they do that?

__If YES:__ What did they say?

b. Did any of them encourage you? Yes _____ No _______

__If YES:__ How?

__If NO:__ Why do you think they didn't?

c. How do they feel about it now?

d. Have any of them become less friendly?

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34. Do you know the parents of any other Negro youngsters who are going to ____________________ school? Yes ____ No _____ There are none _____

If YES: Have you ever gotten together to talk things over?

When was that?

What did you talk about?

35. Have you ever gone to a Parent - Teachers meeting in the school?

Yes _____ No _______

If YES: Was that an integrated meeting?

Did anything unusual happen there?

Did you feel welcome?

If NO: Why not?

Were you informed of meetings?

36. Did anyone in your family have to go to court because of the change in schools? Yes _____ No _______

If YES: What happened there?

37. Have you ever talked with the principal of the ______________ school?

Yes _____ No _______

If YES: Who contacted whom?

What did you talk about?

Did anything change?

If NO: Did you ever want to?

a. How about the teachers, have you talked with any of them?

Yes _____ No ______

If YES: Who contacted whom?

How often have you seen them (him)?

What do you talk about?

38. Do the teachers at ________________ school seem pretty good, not so good, or what?

_______good ________pretty good _____not so good ____bad

a. How do they compare with the teachers ____ had at ___________ school?

b. Are there any who act prejudiced?

39. Do you think that more Negro students from around here will go to ____________________ school next year?

Yes _____ No _______ Don't know _______

a. Have you talked with any of the parents who are considering that?

b. Have you encouraged them? Yes _____ No _______

If YES: Why will they transfer?

If NO: Why not?

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40. What difference would it make in the school if more Negro students went?

    a. Would it make any difference in the work or other things in this town?

41. Some of the Negro students who went to white schools said they have learned a great deal; others say they have had to make many sacrifices. How did it work out with you youngster?

    a. What did he (she) gain?

    b. What things did he (she) miss out on?

    c. Was it especially hard on him (her) in the beginning?

       In what ways?

42. How do you think the white parents felt when they heard about some Negroes going to the ______________ school?

43. As a result of this year's experiences, have any of your ideas about white people changed?

    a. Do you trust them more now?

44. If you had the decision to make over again, would you let your son (daughter) go to the white school this year?

    a. Why or why not?

45. Suppose your son (daughter) was planning to take part in a sit-in demonstration at a lunchroom. Which of the following things would you probably do?

    a. Disapprove and try to stop him (her).

    b. Disapprove but wouldn't try to stop him (her).

    c. Approve, but not go out of my way to encourage him (her).

    d. Strongly encourage him (her).

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME MORE GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS.

46. What three things, in order of their importance, are most important for a person to prove he is a good citizen?

    a. He obeys the law? _______

    b. He goes to church ________

    c. He dislikes communists _____

    d. He minds his own business _____

    e. He doesn't think he is better than people of other races or religions ________

    f. He votes in elections ______

    g. He pays taxes ______

    h. He is proud of his country ______

    i. He believes that free enterprise is better than socialism _____

    j. Other ______________

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47. In your opinion, who are three very good leaders around here?

Name?	What is it about him or her that makes him (her) so good?
a. ____________________	______________________________
b. ____________________	______________________________
c. ____________________	______________________________

48. The Constitution of the United States guarantees certain rights for everyone. In your opinion, are any rights being violated in the United States today? Yes ____ No ______

If YES: Please explain which rights are being violated by whom, where?

49. What is the purpose of government in your opinion?

50. Sometimes white persons will say that they are against school desegregation because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

a. What do they mean by that?

b. Will desegregation lead to a lowering of standards?

51. Sometimes white persons will say that they are opposed to school desegregation because it will lead to intermarriage between the races. What are they afraid of when they say that?

a. Will it lead to that?

52. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only one empty seat left. A white woman was sitting in the seat next to it and she had some packages lying on the seat that was empty. Which of the following things do you think you would do?

a. Move to the back of the bus.

b. Stand somewhere else

c. Ask her to remove her packages.

d. Stand near, her, say nothing, and hope she will notice you and pick up her packages.

53. What will it take for the Negro to get full rights and priviliges due to a citizen in the South?

a. Do you think it will take violence? Why or why not?

b. And how long do you think it will take?

54. Here are a few more statements I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with.

	Agree	Disagree
a. I don't see much sense in Negroes sticking their necks out and getting into trouble trying to change things in the South.		
b. Negroes who are not treated as first class citizens here in the U.S. should not go and fight for the U.S. in some foreign country.		
c. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a white person.		
d. White people will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.		
e. All Negroes should stick together in order to get fair treatment.		
f. Basically, almost all white people are prejudiced against Negroes in one way or the other.		
g. Whites are not going to change by themselves unless we give them a good push.		
h. I feel I should be one of the first Negroes working actively to change things in the South.		
i. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.		
j. The problems of other minority groups, such as Jews and Puerto Ricans, are no concern of mine.		

55. Some people feel it was a good idea for the United States to join the United Nations. Others feel that the U.N. hasn't really been very useful. How do you feel about that?

a. Do you think we should stay in the United Nations?

b. Should we stay in, or get out, if Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations?

________ stay in ________ get out

Why do you feel this way?

56. Do you think that the differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China are:

_______very great

_______not too great

_______small

_______very small

57. There has been much talk about Communists operating within this nation. Do you think there are many communists in the government?

_______many _________some _______a few

a. Do they represent a danger to us?

______great danger ________some danger

______little danger _________no danger

58. What kinds of people are most likely to be communists in America?

59. Are you registered to vote? Yes ____ No ____

If YES: When did you register?

Did you vote in the recent primaries? Yes ____ No ____

Who did you vote for for Governor?

Why for him?

Who did you vote for for sherrif?

Why for him?

If NO: Do you expect to register?

Did you follow the recent Democratic primary?

Yes ____ No ____

Who would you have voted for for governor?

Why for him?

Who would you have voted for for sherrif?

Why for him?

60. Do you ordinarily pay much attention to public affairs and current events? Yes ____ No ____

a. What issues especially interest you?

b. How often do you read the newspapers for information about current affairs?

c. What paper (s) do you usually read?

d. What other papers or magazines do you regularly get?

THUMBNAIL: TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOUSE

1. Condition of the building (by observation).

________sound ________deteriorating _______dilapidated

2. Condition of the furniture and furnishings (by observation).

____excellent _____good _____ average _____poor _____deteriorated

3. Housekeeping style (by observation)

___everything orderly, nothing out of place

___average neatness and order

___things in disarray

4. How close is the nearest house?

___10 yards or less

___between 10 and 100 yards

___further than 100 yards

5. Are the streets outside the house paved? ___Yes ___No

6. How was the rapport with the respondent?

___Excellent throughout ___poor throughout

___average ___started poor, got good

___started good, got poor

7. What is the respondent's color - complexion

_______dark _______ medium ______light

8. Length of interview: _________hours ________minutes

9. ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD HELP US INTERPRET THIS INTERVIEW
(Use the back of the preceeding pages or add a page if necessary)

Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Student Interview #2 (Control)

Name: ______________________________

Address: ___________________________

____

Phone: ______________________________

Interviewer's name: _______________

Date: ______________________________

Return to Mark A. Chesler

WE ARE GOING TO START OFF WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY

1. How old are you?

2. Do you have any brothers and sisters? Yes ____ No _____

   If YES: How old are they and what are they doing now?

   1. _____ ____

   2. _____ ____

   3. _____ ____

   4. _____ ____

   5. _____ ____

   (If more, use back of the preceding page.)

3. What grade are you in in school? __________________________

4. What school do you attend? ________________________________

   a. About how long does it take you to get to school in the morning?

   ____

   b. How do you get there? _________________________________

5. How long have you been going to that school? ______________________

6. What is your homeroom teacher's name? ____________________________

7. What was your grade average this year? ____________________________

8. Has that changed from what it was the year before?

   Yes _____ No _____

   If YES: Has it gone up or down, and how much?

   a. Why has it changed?

9. Do you plan to remain in school until you complete high school, or do you plan to leave school before then?

____

a. What would you like to do when you're through with high school? (If JOB, go to question 10. If COLLEGE, or TRADE SCHOOL, ask below and question 10.)

If COLLEGE OR TRADE SCHOOL:

What school would you like to go to?

____

____

What subject (s) would you take mostly?

____

____

Will you need scholarship help?

Yes _____ No _____

10. What kind of job would you like to have? ____________________

____

a. What would you like to be doing in ten years?

b. Are there any problems or difficulties in doing that?

11. What kind of job do you think you probably will have?

____

a. About how much money would you make per year at that?

____

12. Would you rather live in the North or in the South? No___ So ___

Why?

a. Where (specifically by state or city) would you like to live?

____

If NORTH: Do you think you would ever return to the south to live?

Yes _____ No ______

Why?

13. Have you ever traveled out of the state? Yes _____ No ______

a. To where?

b. Have you ever traveled to the North?

14. Here are several statements people sometimes make. Please tell me whether you agree or diagree with each of them. There are no right or wrong answers, just give my your opinion.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is only when a person devotes himself to a purpose that life becomes meaningful.		
b. To compromise with our opponents is dangerous.		
c. A lot of people I know don't really understand the nation's problems.		
d. Any good leader should be strict with the people under him in order to gain their respect.		
e. There are two kinds of people in the world; the strong and the weak.		
f. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.		
g. More and more I feel helpless because of what is happening in the world today.		
h. It is not possible for me to really influence what happens in society at large.		
i. My family really doesn't have any say about what the government does.		
j. Things are so confused nowadays I hardly know what is right or wrong any more.		

14

15. Now I am going to read you several statements that do not have an ending. As soon as I read them I want you to fill in an ending. Just tell me the first thing that comes to your mind.

    a. Compared with most families mine ____________________

    b. I am best when ____________________

    c. Sometimes I think I am ____________________

    d. I am not good when ____________________

    e. Mothers should learn that ____________________

    f. I wish my father ____________________

    g. A nice thing about my family ____________________

16. How close would you say you are to your parents?

    ______very close   _____ pretty close   ______not too close

    a. Are you closer to one parent than to the other?

    Yes _____   No _______

    If YES, which one? ____________________

    Why?

    b. Are there things about which you and your parents disagree?

    Yes _____   No ______

    If YES, what sorts of things? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

17. What three most important things would you like to be or to have as an adult?

    1.

    2.

    3.

18. Have you thought about getting married? Yes ____ No ____

    a. When do you think you might get married?

    b. How many children would you like to have? __________

    Why that number?

19. If you could choose, which of the people I will describe would you most like to be?

    a. a person who is a leader, and who is able to influence others

    b. a person who is friendly, and who has many friends

    c. a person who is able to make or do things well

    Why did you choose as you did?

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT SCHOOLS AND SOME CHANGES IN THE SCHOOLS AROUND HERE.

20. Do you know any Negro students who are going to a mostly white school?

    Yes ____ No _____

    If YES: Who?

    ____________________________ ____________________

    ____________________________ ____________________

    ____________________________ ____________________

    ____________________________ ____________________

    ____________________________ ____________________

    a. Do you know them well, very well, or just a little bit?

    b. Do you see them as much as before they changed schools?

(continued)

c. Are you as friendly with them now as you were before?

Yes _____ No _______

If NO: Why?

d. Have any of them changed in any way since they changed schools?

21. Have any of them ever come back to visit the school?

Yes _____ No______

a. Why do you think they did (or didn't)?

b. What happened when they did?

22. How do some of your other friends feel about them?

23. How do your teachers feel about the students who changed schools?

a. Have any of your teachers ever said anything about them or their changing schools?

24. Why do you think those students who are going to mostly white schools decided to change schools? (If because of parents and friends, why did they want the students to change schools?)

a. What other reasons did they (or others) have?

(Continued)

b. Why did they change schools and other students' not?

25. What kinds of experiences do you think these students are having in their new schools?

a. Are they getting friendly with the white students?

b. What other good things might be happening?

c. Are they having any trouble? Yes ____ No ____

If YES: What kinds?

26. Some students who have gone to mostly white schools said that they have some trouble "being themselves". Can you tell me what they might have meant by this?

27. Have you ever thought about going to a mostly white school yourself?

Yes ____ No ____

a. What would be some of the advantages?

b. What would be some of the disadvantages?

28. Do you think that most of the white students in the white school are smarter than you?   Yes ____   No _____

If YES: Why do you think that?

a. Do you think they are smarter than the Negro students who transferred to that school?

Yes ____   No _____

29. How would your parents feel about it if you changed schools and went to the desegregated school?   (GET DETAILS)

a. Do both of them feel that way?

b. Why do they feel that way?

c. Have you ever talked about it with them?   Yes ____   No _____

If YES: When was that?

Do you talk about it often?

If NO: Do you think you ever will talk about it?

30. Would you like to change schools this next fall?   Yes ____   No ______

If YES: Will you? What finally decided you one way or the other?

If NO: Why not? What decided you?

31. Do you think there is any personal danger in making the change this fall?

    Yes _____ No ______

    a. Would you be worried about anything?'

32. Did you want to change schools last year? Yes _____ No ______

    If YES: Why didn't you?

Did you talk with anyone about it?	What did they say?
____________________	____________________
	____________________
____________________	____________________
	____________________
____________________	____________________
	____________________

33. How do you think the white students feel, or would feel, about Negro students transferring to their school?

    a. Would they do anything about it? What would they do?

34. Suppose there were three times as many Negroes in the desegregated school as there are now. What difference would that make in what goes on in the school? Why would that make a difference?

35. Now here are a few short statements sometimes made about school and education. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is good to take part in classroom work as much as possible.		
b. Getting along with your classmates is as important as schoolwork.		
c. I work hard on what's being taught at school.		
d. The teachers are mostly fair.		
e. I would like to go to a school that was desegregated, that had white students in it.		
f. I could probably do as well in school as white students.		
g. The white school near here is better than my school.		

Please explain why you feel this way (g) ______

____

____

36. Are you active in any class or sports at school? Yes ___ No ___

If YES: Which ones? Leadership positions?

Which ones?	Leadership positions?
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT SOME OTHER THINGS.

37. What three things, in order of their importance, do you think are important for a person to show he is a good citizen?

a. He obeys the laws ______

b. He goes to church ______

c. He minds his own business _____

d. He dislikes communists _____

e. He doesn't think he is better than people of other races or religions ______

f. He votes in elections ______

g. He pays taxes ______

h. He is proud of his country ______

i. He believes that free enterprise is better than socialism ______

j. Other ______

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38. In your opinion, who are three very good leaders around here?

Name?	What is it about him or her that makes him (her) so good?
a. ____________________	______________________________________
b. ____________________	______________________________________
c. ____________________	______________________________________

39. The Constitution of the United States guarantees certain rights for everyone. In your opinion, are any rights being violated in the United States today? Yes ____ No _____

If YES: Please explain which rights are being violated by whom, where?

40. What is the purpose of government in your opinion?

41. Sometimes white persons will say that they are against school desegregation because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

a. What do they mean by that?

b. Will desegregation lead to a lowering of standards?

42. Sometimes white persons will say they are opposed to school desegregation because it will lead to intermarriage between the races. What are they afraid of when they say that?

a. Will it lead to that?

43. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only empty seat left. A white woman was sitting in the seat next to it and she had some packages lying on the seat that was empty. Which of the following things do you think you would do?

a. move to the back of the bus	b. stand somewhere else
c. ask her to move her packages	d. stand near her, saying nothing, and hope she will notice you and pick up her packages.

44. What will it take for the Negro to get full rights and privileges due to a citizen in the South?

    a. Do you think it will take violence? Why or why not?

    b. And how long do you think it will take?

45. Here are a few more statements I'k like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with.

	Agree	Disagree
a. I don't see much sense in Negroes sticking their necks out and getting into trouble trying to change things in the South.		
b. Negroes who are not treated as first class citizens here in the U.S. should not go and fight for the U.S. in some foreign country.		
c. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a white person.		
d. White people will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.		
e. All Negroes should stick together in order to get fair treatment.		
f. Basically, almost all white people are prejudiced against Negroes in one way or the other.		
g. Whites are not going to change by themselves, unless we give them a good push.		
h. I feel I should be one of the first Negroes working actively to change things in the South.		
i. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.		
j. The problems of other minority groups, such as Jews and Puerto Ricans, are no concern of mine.		

46. Some people feel it was a good idea for the United States to join the United Nations. Others feel that the U.N. hasn't really been very useful. How do you feel about this?

a. Do you think we should stay in the United Nations?

b. Should we stay in, or get out, if Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations?

______stay in   _______get out

Why do you feel this way?

47. Do you think that the differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China are?

______very great

______not too great

______small

______very small

48. There has been much talk about Communists operating within this nation. Do you think there are many communists in the government?

______many   _______some   ______a few

a. Do they represent a danger to us?

_____great danger   ________some danger

_____little danger   ________no danger

49. What kinds of people are most likely to be Communists in America?

50. Did you follow the recent primary election for Governor in the Democratic party in Alabama? Yes _____ No ______

a. If you had been able to vote, who would you have voted for?

Why?

b. Did your parents talk about the political race? What did they say to you about it?

c. Who would you have voted for for sherrif?

51. Do you ordinarily pay much attention to public affairs and current events? Yes ______ No ______

a. What issues especially interest you?

b. How often do you read the newspapers for information about current affairs?

c. What paper do you usually read?

d. What other papers or magazines do you get here?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

THUMBNAIL: TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOUSE

1. Condition of the building (by observation).

______sound ________deteriorating _______dilapidated

2. Condition of the furniture and furnishings (by observation).

______excellent _____good ______average _____poor _____deteriorated

3. Housekeeping style (by observation).

_____everything orderly, nothing out of place

_____average neatness and order

_____things in disarray

4. How close is the nearest house?

_____10 yards or less

_____between 10 and 100 yards

_____further than 100 yards

5. Are the streest outside the house paved? _____yes _____no

6. How was rapport with the respondent?

_____excellent throughout _____poor throughout

_____average _____started poor, got good

_____started good, got poor

7. What is the respondent's color - complexion?

_____dark _____medium _____light

8. Length of interview: __________hours __________minutes

9. ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD HELP US INTERPRET THIS INTERVIEW
(Use the back of the preceeding pages or add a page if necessary)

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Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Parent Interview #2 (Control)

Name: ______________________

Address: ____________________

____

Phone: ______________________

Mother ___ Father _____

Interviewer's name: ________________

Date: ____________________________

Return to Mark A. Chesler

WE ARE GOING TO START OFF WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY.

1. Who lives in this house?

2. (If not clear) Are you married, widowed, divorced, single, or what?

If MARRIED: Is this your first marriage, or have you been married before?

How long have you been married?

If DIVORCED: Was that your first marriage? Yes ____ No ____

How long have you been divorced?

Have you remarried? Yes ____ No ____

If WIDOWED: Was that your first marriage? Yes ____ No ____

How long has your husband (wife) been dead?

Have you remarried? Yes ____ No ____

3. How long have you lived in this town? ____________________

a. Where did you live before that?

How long did you live there?

b. Why did you move here?

4. Have you ever lived at any other address in this town?

Yes ______ No ______

If YES, why did you move to this house?

5. Do you have a job, either full-time or part-time? Yes ____ No _____

If YES, what do you do?

Do you have a boss?

Do you supervise anyone on this job?

How well satisfied are you with this job?

About how much money do you make on this job? (weekly)

6. Does your husband (wife) work full or part-time? Yes ____ No ____

If YES: Is that full or part time?

What does he (she) do?

Does he (she) have a boss?

Does he (she) supervise anyone?

How well satisfied is he (she) with this job?

What are his (her) chances for promotion?

About how much money does he (she) make on this job? (weekly)

7. How many years of schooling have you completed? (Interviewer use check).

_______none

_______less than four years

_______four to eight years

_______some high school

_______high school grad

_______some college

_______college grad

_______post-college

a. And how many years of schooling has your husband (wife) completed? (Interviewer go back and circle the response.)

8. How many children do you have? ____________

How old is each one and where are they living now?

1. ____ ______________________________

2. ____ ______________________________

3. ____ ______________________________

4. ____ ______________________________

5. ____ ______________________________

(If more, use the back of the preceeding page.)

9. Compared to other families you know; would you say that you and your husband (wife) get (got) along:

_____extremely well _____about average _____not too well

10. Here is a list of decisions often made in the family. Please tell me who usually makes them.

	husband	wife	each individually	both together
a. in general				
b. punishing children				
c. voting				
d. which TV show to watch				
e. spending money				

11. What is your religion? ______________

If PROTESTANT, specify: __________

12. About how often do you usually attend religious services?

_____twice a week or more _____two or three times a month

_____once a week _____once a month

_____on special occasions _____ never

a. and how often does you husband (wife) attend? (Use circle).

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13. Do you believe in a life after death, or not? Yes _____ No _____

    If YES: Do you believe that in the next life some people will be punished and others rewarded by God, or not?

14. Here are four statements which have been made about the Bible. I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your view.

    a. The Bible is God's word and all it says is true.

    b. The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic teachings are true, but because the writers were men, it contains some human errors.

    c. The Bible is a valuable book, because it was written by wise and good men, but God had nothing to do with it.

    d. The Bible was written by men who lived so long ago that it is of little value today.

15. Where were you born? ______________________________

    a. And where was your husband (wife) born? ________________

16. Have you ever traveled outside of this state? Yes _____ No _____

    If YES: Have you ever traveled outside of the South?

    Yes _____ No ______

    If YES: Was that with or without your husband (wife)?

    Where did you go?

    Was it a business or a pleasure trip?

    When was that?

17. Would you say that a young person who is in elementary or secondary school is getting as good an education as young people did thirty years ago, a better one, a worse one, or what?

    a. In what ways are things better now?

    b. In what ways were things better then?

18. What is the most important thing the schools around here ought to be doing or try to do in the next two years?

    a. What else would be very important?

19. Now I am going to read you several statements people sometimes make. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is only when a person devotes himself to a purpose that life becomes meaningful.		
b. To compromise with our opponents is dangerous.		
c. A lot of people I know don't really understand the nations' problems.		
d. Any good leader should be strict with the people under him in order to gain their respect.		
e. There are two kinds of people in the world: The strong and the weak.		
f. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.		
g. More and more I feel helpless because of what is happening in the world today.		
h. It is not possible for me to really influence what happens in society at large.		
i. My family really doesn't have any say about what the government does.		
j. Things are so confused nowadays I hardly know what is right and wrong anymore.		
k. People should take care of themselves more instead of always asking the government to help them out.		
l. A man can't be respected unless he has worked hard for some goal.		
m. A man who doesn't believe in God should not be elected to public office.		

20. Do you belong to any organizations that have regular meetings, such as political clubs, PTA's, church organizations, veteran's groups, etc?

Yes ____ No _____

	If YES: What are some of them?	How often do you attend meetings?
1.	____________________	____________________
2.	____________________	____________________
3.	____________________	____________________
4.	____________________	____________________
5.	____________________	____________________

a. Have you ever been an officer in charge of any activities of any of these groups? Yes ____ No _____

If YES: What positions in which groups? (by number)

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SON (DAUGHTER), AND HIS (HER) AND YOUR EXPERIENCES WHEN HE (SHE) WENT TO SCHOOL THIS YEAR.

21. How close would you say you are to ____________?

______very close ______pretty close _____not very close

a. Is he (she) closer to you, or to your husband (wife)?

Why is that?

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22. Are there any things about which you and your son (daughter) disagree?
Yes _____ No _____

If YES: What are some examples?

a. In what ways is ____________ different from your other children?

23. How much education do you want him((her) to have?

If COLLEGE: What college do you want him (her) to go to?

Have you made plans to finance this?

24. What three things would you most like him (her) to be or to have as an adult?

1. ____

2. ____

3. ____

25. If you choose, which of the people I describe would you most like him (her) to be?

a. a person who is able to influence others, and who is a good leader.

b. a person who is friendly and who has many friends.

c. a person who is able to make and do things well.

Why did you choose as you did?

26. What kind of job would you like him (her) to have?

a. About how much money would he (she) make at that?

b. If SON: Would you be satisfied if he were a:

teacher ______
cook ______
sailor ______
writer ______
engineer ______
doctor ______
musician ______
lawyer ______
laborer ______
carpenter ______
farmer ______
soldier ______

(Interviewer: check all of those items which apply.)

c. If DAUGHTER: Would you be satisfied if she were a:

teacher ______
cook ______
secretary ______
maid ______
nurse ______
social worker _
housewife ______
engineer ______
beautician ______

26. Do you know any families where the children or yonngsters are going to school with whites? Yes ______ No ______

If YES: Do you know them pretty well, or just a little?

Have they changed any since their child changed schools?

Yes ______ No ______

If Yes: How have they changed?

If No: What kinds of people are they?

a. Are you as close to them as you used to be?

27. Why did they decide to send their youngster to that school? (Or, why do people decide to do that?)

a. What other responses could they have had?

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28. Do you think the students are better off attending a white school?

a. In what ways are they or aren't they?

Are they getting a better education?

29. Does, or has, school desegregation made any difference in the way things happen in this town?

30. Did you ever think of sending one of your children to a mostly white school? Yes ____ No _____

If YES: How come you didn't?

Did anyone advise you against it? Yes ____ No ____

If YES: Who was that and what reasons did he (she) give?

Were there any other reasons?

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31. What are some of the disadvantages of sending your youngsters to a mostly white school? (GET DETAILS)

    a. What are some of the advantages?

32. How do you think the white people feel when they see Negro students entering a mostly white school?

    a. Would they do anything to stop it? Yes _____ No _____

       If YES: What would they do?

33. How do some of the other Negro families feel about it?

34. Suppose your son (daughter) was planning to take part in a sit-in demonstration at a lunchroom. Which of the following things would you probably do?

    a. Disapprove and try to stop him (her).

    b. Disapprove but wouldn't try to stop him (her).

    c. Approve, but not go out of my way to encourage him (her).

    d. Strongly encourage him (her).

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME THINGS.

35. What three things, in order of their importance, are most important for a person to prove he is a good citizen?

a. He obeys the law _____

b. He goes to church ____

c. He dislikes communists _____

d. He minds his own business ______

e. He doesn't think he is better than people of other races or religions. ______

g. He votes in elections ______

h. He pays taxes ______

i. He believes free enterprise is better than socialism.

j. Other ________________________

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36. In your opinion, who are three very good leaders around here?

Name?	What is it about him or her that makes him (her) so good?
a. ________________	________________
b. ________________	________________
c. ________________	________________

37. The Constitution of the United States guarantees certain rights for everyone. In your opinion, are any rights being violated in the United States today? Yes ______ No ______

If YES: Please explain which rights are being violated by whom, where?

38. What is the purpose of government in your opinion?

39. Sometimes white persons will say that they are against school desegregation because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

a. What do they mean by that?

b. Will desegregation lead to a lowering of standards?

40. Sometimes white persons will say that they are opposed to school desegregation because it will lead to intermarriage between the races. What are they afraid of when they say that?

a. Will it lead to that?

41. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only one empty seat left. A white woman was sitting in the seat next to it and she had some packages lying on the seat that was empty. Which of the following things do you think you would do?

    a. move to the back of the bus
    b. stand somewhere else
    c. ask her to remove her packages
    d. stand near her, say nothing, and hope she will notice you and pick up her packages.

42 . What will it take for the Negro to get full rights and privileges due to a citizen in the South?

    a. Do you think it will take violence? Why or why not?

    b. And how long do you think it will take?

43 . Here are a few more statements I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with.

	Agree	Disagree
a. I don't see much sense in Negroes sticking their necks out and getting into trouble trying to change things in the South.		
b. Negroes who are not treated as first class citizens here in the U.S. should not go and fight for the U.S. in some foreign country.		
c. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a white person.		
d. White people will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.		
e. All Negroes should stick together in order to get fair treatment.		
f. Basically, almost all white people are prejudiced against Negroes in one way or the other.		
g. Whites are not going to change by themselves, unless we give them a good push.		
h. I feel I should be one of the first Negroes working actively to change things in the South.		
i. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.		
j. The problems of other minority groups, such as Jews and Puerto Ricans, are no concern of mine.		

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44. Some people feel it was a good idea for the United States to join the United Nations. Others feel that the U.N. hasn't really been very useful. How do you feel about that?

a. Do you think we should stay in the United Nations?

b. Should we stay in, or get out, if Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations?

_____stay in _____get out

Why do you feel this way?

45. Do you think that the differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China are:

_______very great

_______not too great

_______small

_______very small

46. There has been much talk about Communists operating within this nation. Do you think there are many communists in the government?

_______many _______some ______a few

a. Do they represent a danger to us?

________great danger ________some danger

________little danger ________no danger

47. What kinds of people are most likely to be Communists in America?

48. Are you registered to vote? Yes _____ No _____

If YES: When did you register?

Who did you vote for for Governor?

Why for him?

Who did you vote for for sherrif?

Why for him?

If NO: Do you expect to register?

Did you follow the recent Democratic primary?

Yes _______ No _______

Who would you have voted for for Governor?

Why for him?

Who would you have voted for for sherrif?

Why for him?

49. Do you ordinarily pay much attention to public affairs and current events? Yes _______ No ______

a. What issues interest you?

b. How often do you read the newspapers for information about current affairs?

c. What paper (s) do you usually read?

d. What other papers or magazines do you regularly get?

THUMBNAIL: TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOUSE

1. Condition of the building (by observation).

_______sound ______deteriorating ______dilapidated

2. Condition of the furniture and furnishings (by observation).

____excellent ____good ___average ____poor ____deteriorated

3. Housekeeping style (by observation)

___everything orderly, nothing out of place

___average neatness and order

___things is disarray

4. How close is the nearest house?

___10 yards or less

___between 10 and 100 yards

___further than 100 yards

5. Are the streets outside the house paved? ___yes _____no

6. How was rapport with the respondent?

___excellent throughout

___average

___started good, got poor

___poor throughout

___started poor, got good

7. What is the respondent's color - complexion

___dark ___medium ___light

8. Length of interview: _________hours ________minutes

9. ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD HELP US INTERPRET THIS INTERVIEW
(Use the back of the preceeding page or add a page if necessary)

#________________

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Teacher Interview

Name: ______________________________

Address: ____________________________

____

Phone: __________________

Interviewer's name: ______________________

Date: ___________________

Return to: Fran French
Sociology Department
Auburn Univesity

Mark Chesler
Institute for Social
Research
University of Michigan

____

LET'S START OFF WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF.

1. What subject(s) do you teach?

a. ____________ c. ____________ e. ____________

b. ____________ d. ____________ f. ____________

2. How long have you taught these subjects?

a. ____________ c. ____________ e. ____________

b. ____________ d. ____________ f. ____________

3. a. How many years of teaching experience have you had? ____________

b. How long have you taught in this school? ____________

4. a. What college or colleges did you go to for training?

b. Did you go back for more courses? Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: How many graduate credits do you have? ____________

5. a. What specialty were you trained for?

b. Are you teaching in the specialty for which you were trained?

Yes ____ No ____

IF NO: Please explain.

6. A school system cannot be all things to all people. Considering the staff in your school system, the financial support for the system, the kinds of children who attend the schools, and the attitudes of the community, what would you feel are the four primary objectives towards which effort should be put in your school system during the next two years? Remember, you are thinking of objectives for this school system for the next two years.

Which is most important? Which is second most important? (Get four)

(C A R D)

_____ Reducing the dropout rate.
_____ Improving attention to basic skills.
_____ Improving attention to physical health and safety of students.
_____ Increasing children's motivation and desire to learn.
_____ Improving learning opportunities for disadvantaged children.
_____ Increasing the percentage of college attendance by seniors.
_____ Improving discipline and the behavior of "difficult" children.
_____ Improving the quality of student academic achievement at all levels.
_____ Hastening the racial desegregation of our schools.
_____ Improving learning opportunities for gifted or talented children.
_____ Preparing for vocational training.

7. Would you say that a young person who is now in grade school or high school is getting as good an education as young people did thirty (30) years ago, a better one, a worse one, or what?

a. In what ways are things better now?

b. In what ways were things better then?

8. Most teachers spend their time doing many different tasks at school. How much of your time do you spend during the average school day on each of the following - a great deal of time, some time, no time?

(CARD)

	a great deal	some	none
a. Teaching students academic material.	____	____	____
b. Disciplining students.	____	____	____
c. Counseling students.	____	____	____
d. Keeping records and administrative duties.	____	____	____
e. Serving on staff committees.	____	____	____
f. Talking with colleagues about classroom practices.	____	____	____
g. Advising student clubs.	____	____	____
h. Other (Specify)____________________	____	____	____

9. a. Do you belong to any educational groups, associations, or organizations that have regular local, state, or national meetings? Please tell me those you belong to, if any.

Name of Organization	How often do you attend meetings?	Where are these meetings held? (name of town)	See 9B Officer
____________	________	____________	______
____________	________	____________	______
____________	________	____________	______
____________	________	____________	______
____________	________	____________	______

b. Are you an officer in any of these organizations?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: What office do you hold? (Interviewer go back and fill in right hand column above)

10. a. In general how much influence do you think the following groups or persons have in determining educational matters (e.g., curriculum, policy, etc.) in this school. Do they have no influence, a little influence, medium ifluence, or a great deal of influence?

(Interviewer place a ✓ in appropriate box)

(C A R D)

How about the:	no infl.	a little infl.	medium infl.	a great deal of infl.
a. The state government				
b. The local school board				
c. Your superintendent				
d. Your principal				
e. A small group of teachers				
f. Your teaching colleagues in general				
g. You, personally				

b. Now go back and tell me how much influence each should have, in your view.

(Interviewer use same boxes above placing an 0 in appropriate box; repeat a through f)

11. The following statements describe typical behaviors that may occur within any school. Please indicate to what extent each of these descriptions characterize the climate of your school... whether they almost always, often, sometimes or very seldom occur.

(C A R D)

	almost always	often	some-times	very seldom
a. Teachers enjoy working here.				
b. Teachers work on classroom problems with one another.				
c. Routine administrative duties interfere with teaching.				
d. The curriculum makes it difficult for teachers to spend time on activities that interest them most.				
e. Teachers feel that it is alright to ask the principal for help.				
f. Parents show interest in what the teachers do.				
g. Our teaching staff has a high esprit de corps.				
h. Teachers have ideas about the school which they don't express in public.				
i. Teachers who don't "fit in" are rejected.				
k. The principal consults with teachers before making major decisions at school.				
l. The school is subject to a lot of community influence.				
m. There are pressures on teachers not to deal with controversial matters.				
n. The principal helps teachers deal with their classroom problems.				
o. Teachers are expected to adjust to the school system rather than change it.				

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12. Now we want to understand some things about your teaching style and classroom atmosphere. From this list of words, please pick those 10 that best describe your classroom. Do not spend too much time deliberating on any one word, but give your first impression. If you teach more than one class, consider the most characteristic one of those you teach this year.

(C A R D)

___	friendly	___	business-like
___	individual activities	___	group activities
___	scheduled	___	spontaneous
___	active	___	passive
___	relaxed	___	attentive
___	formal	___	informal
___	feelings controlled	___	feelings expressed
___	pupil planned	___	teacher planned
___	lecture	___	discussion
___	cooperative	___	competitive

13. Many schools have hired professional psychologists and social workers to deal with students' problems of adjustment and emotional problems. Some people feel that such persons are beneficial in schools, others feel that they do more harm than good to the children. Do you think that there should be such services in the elementary and high schools? Why?

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT SOME OTHER THINGS.

14. What three things, in order of their importance, do you think are important for a person to show he is a good citizen?

(CARD)

(1) He obeys the laws. ____

(2) He goes to church. ____

(3) He minds his own business. ____

(4) He dislikes communists. ____

(5) He doesn't think he is better than people of other races or religions.____

(6) He votes in elections. ____

(7) He pays taxes. ____

(8) He is proud of his country. ____

(9) He believes that free enterprise is better than socialism. ____

(10) Other ______________________
(Please specify)

15. Sometimes when we read the papers or listen to the news, we have strong feelings of one kind or another.

a. Thinking back over the past year, were there any particular things in the news which made you feel espectially worried?

b. Now, think back over the past year--do you recall any things in the news which made you feel especially good?

16. Some people feel it was a good idea for the United States to join the United Nations. Others feel that the U.N. hasn't really been very useful.

a. How do you feel about that?

b. Do you think we should stay in the United Nations?

17. Should we stay in, or get out, if communist China is admitted to the United Nations?

____ stay in ____ get out

Why do you feel this way?

18. How much difference do you think there is between the Soviet Union and communist China: a very great difference, not too great a difference, a small difference, or a very small difference?

____ very great ____ small

____ not too great ____ very small

19. There has been much talk about communists operating with this nation. How many communists do you think there are in the government? Many, some, a few or none?

____ many ____ some ____ a few ____ none

Do they represent a danger to us?

____ great danger ____ some danger

____ little danger ____ no danger

20. What kinds of people are most likely to communists in America?

(Probe: What occupations, what religious groups?)

21. Who would you most like to see elected as the next president of the United States in 1968?

Can you think of any one else who would be a good choice?

22. Here are several statements people sometimes make. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them. There are no right or wrong answers; just give me your opinion.

(CARD)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
a. It is only when a person devotes himself to a purpose that life becomes meaningful.				
b. A lot of people I know don't really understand the nation's problems.				
c. The most important thing to teach to students is absolute obedience to their parents & teachers.				
d. People should do what is morally right regardless of the consequences.				
e. We should spend less time trying to find new ways to handle problems and emphasize time-tested techniques which seem to be forgotten.				
f. It is not possible for me to really influence what happens in society at large.				
g. I usually maintain my own opinions even though many other people may have a different point of view.				
h. The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good.				
i. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.				
j. Science is a good thing even if it challenges fundamental things.				
k. To compromise with our opponents is dangerous.				
l. The trouble with the world today is that most people really don't believe in anything.				
m. An ethical or moral principle which may be right in one situation may be wrong or inappropriate in another situation.				
n. The U.S. government should get rid of all its activities that compete with private industry.				
o. The principles I have come to believe in are quite different from those believed in by most people.				
p. Big companies control too much of American business.				
q. The ways of the past are hardly ever adequate to handle present day problems.				
r. I really don't have any say about what the government does.				
s. I don't enjoy having to adapt myself to new and unusual situations.				
t. Having my students learn democratic values is as important to me as their learning subject matter.				

23. a. Are there any Negro students attending this school?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: About how many do you think there are here? ________

b. Were there any Negro students in this school last year?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: About how many were here then? ________

IF NO to both a. and b., skip to Question 46

24. Have you ever had any Negro students in your classes or homeroom?

Yes ____ No ____

IF NO: Skip to Question 46

IF YES: Where and when? (Probe this year, last year or both)

How many did you have in your class? ______
(Probe which classes)

TRY AND THINK BACK TO THE FIRST COUPLE OF DAYS WHEN NEGRO STUDENTS CAME INTO YOUR CLASS. WE WANT TO KNOW AS MUCH ABOUT THIS AS POSSIBLE SO BE SURE TO ADD YOUR IDEAS AND DETAILS IF YOU THINK I'VE LEFT OUT ANYTHING IMPORTANT.

25. Were you given any advance notice that Negro students would enter your classroom?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Who told you?

What did (he) (they) say? Did he make any suggestions?

(Probe if principal is not mentioned: Did your principal talk with you about it ahead of time? What did he say?)

26. a. How many other teachers that you know had Negro students entering their classes? _____

b. Did you talk with these other teachers? Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: How did they feel about it?

c. Did they suggest how you might handle the first couple of days?

27. Did anyone else (not mentioned in 26c) suggest how you might handle the situation?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Who?
What did they suggest?

28. Did you do anything to prepare your class for the new Negro students coming in?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: What did you do? (Probe for details)

Why did you do that?

29. Did any of the parents of white students in your class call you and talk about the Negro students being in your class?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: What did they say?

(Probe: What else?)

(Probe: Did any others call?)

IF NO: Do you have any idea how they felt?

(Probe: Anything else?)

30. a. Have you spoken to any of the Negro parents?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Under what circumstance? (Probe: Who took the initiative?)

b. What kinds of things did you talk about?

31. a. Is there anything you can remember about how the white students reacted to the Negro students the first day they came in?

Yes ____ No ____

Did the white students do anything out of the ordinary?

Did the white students call them any names? (Probe: Such as...)

(Probe: Did the white students tease the Negroes? About what?)

b. Were any of the white students friendly to the Negroes?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: What did they do?

What happened then?

c. In general, how do you think the white students felt on that first day?

32. How did you feel on the first day the Negro students entered your class?

(Probe: Were you nervous? Were you angry?)

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33. a. How did the Negro students behave on the first day they came to your class?

b. Did they sit in any special places? Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Where... Why?

c. Do you think they were frightened?

34. Did you pay any special attention to the Negro students on the first day?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: In what ways?

35. Do you like your class better or worse with both Negro and white students in it?

Better ____ Worse ____ Same ____

Why?

36. How do the white and Negro students get along in your class now? (Probe for specific examples.)

37. Do you teach any differently because the Negro students are in your class?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: What? (Probe for details)

IF NO: How about subjects? How about discipline?

38. a. In what ways are the Negro students different from the white students?

b. In what ways are they similar or alike?

39. More specifically, before you had Negroes in your class:

a. Did you think that most of the Negro students would be as smart as the white students?

Yes ____ No ____

Why did you think that?

b. How about now, are the Negro students as smart, smarter, or not as smart as you thought they'd be?

As smart ____ Not as smart ____ Smarter ____

c. Are they more or less well behaved as the white students?

more ____ less ____ same ____

Did you expect that?

d. Are there any (other) ways in which your opinions of the Negro students have changed?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: In what ways?

40. Why do you think the Negro students who came to this school decided to change schools? (If because of parents or freinds, probe further)

(Probe: Any other reasons?)

(Probe: Why them and not others)

41. Some Negro students who have gone to mostly white schools said that they had some trouble "being themselves." What do you suppose they meant by that?

42. Some Negro students who are going to white schools say they have learned a great deal and gained a lot. Others say they have not learned much and have made many sacrifices. How do you feel about this?

What do you think they might have gained?

What sacrifices do you think they made? (Probe: What did they miss out on?)

43. Did any Negro students who came to this school drop out or transfer back?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Why do you think they did that?

44. What do you think would happen if three times as many Negroes were to come to this school?

45. a. We are especially interested in classroom practices teachers used for improving the way pupils of different races behave toward each other. Are you trying, or did you try, any procedures or techniques to improve relations between white and Negro students in your classroom?

Yes ____ No ____

IF NO: Skip to question 45 d.

IF YES: What specifically did you do?

What kind of problem in pupil relations were you trying to solve?

Were there any special difficulties or operating problems? If so, what?

What were the pupils' reactions? What pupil behaviors changed?

b. Are you likely to do this again? Yes ____ No ____

c. If it was not totally and completely original, where did you get the idea for it (check as many as apply)?

Original ____

Teacher in this school ____
My principal ____
Text or journal ____

Teacher in another school ____
Outside consultants or university ____
Other ______________________________
(Please specify)

d. To what extent do you know what other teachers are using to improve relations between pupils in their classroom?

know a lot ____ have some knowledge ____ don't know ____

Can you give me some examples? (Interviewer, use back of prior page if needed)

QUESTION 46:

ASK IF TEACHER DID NOT HAVE NEGRO STUDENTS.

46. a. Have thereever been any Negroes in this school at all?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Where and when?

What have you heard about it?

IF NO: Do you think there ever will be some Negro students here?

b. How would you feel about having some Negro students in your class?

c. Do you think that most of the Negro students are as smart as the white students?

d. Some Negro students who are going to white schools say they have learned a great deal and gained a lot. Others say they have not learned much and have made many sacrifices. How do you feel about this?

What do you think they might have gained?

What sacrifices do you think they made, or what did they miss out on?

47. Sometimes persons say that they are against having Negro and white youngsters in the same schools because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

(Probe: What standards? What do they (you) mean by "lowering of standards?"

(Probe if not answered: Will desegregation lead to a lowering of these standards?

48. Are there any Negro teachers on the faculty of this school?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: How do the white teachers feel about it? (Probe: How do you feel about it?)

What special problems is she facing in this school?

IF NO: Do you think there will be some in the near future?

Yes ____ No ____

Why do you think that?

What special problems would a Negro teacher face in this school?

49. a. Has there been any trouble between the races in this community?

Yes ____ No ____

IF YES: Can you tell me some more about it?

(Probe: Any violence?)

b. Do you think we will have trouble between the races in this community?

Yes ____ No ____

Why (or why not)? (Probe: Any violence?)

50. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only one empty seat left. A Negro woman is sitting in the seat next to it and she has some packages lying on the seat that is empty. Which of the following things do you think you would do?

a. Move to the back of the bus ____
c. Ask her to remove her packages ____
b. Stand somewhere else ____
d. Stand near her, say nothing and hope she will notice you and pick up her packages ____

51. Some people say that race relations are worse in the North than in the South. What do you think?

(Why?)

52. Here are a few more statements in the same general area. I'd like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of them.

(CARD)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. I don't see much sense in Negroes sticking their necks out and getting into trouble trying to change things in the South.				
b. Most Negroes are content with the way things are here.				
c. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a Negro.				
d. I feel I should be working actively to change race relations in the South.				
e. Negroes will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.				
f. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.				
g. Basically, most white people are prejudiced against Negroes in one way or the other.				
h. Colored people should stay away from places where they are not wanted.				
i. The white people in the South will change by themselves without anyone pushing them.				
j. Negroes feel that white people will almost always try to take advantage of them, given the chance.				
k. The problems of minority groups, such as Negroes and Jews, are no concern of mine.				

NOW I HAVE JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF.

53. a. Where do you live (name of town)? ______________________________

b. How long have you lived there? ______________

c. How long does it take you to get to school each morning? ____________

d. How do you travel to school? ____________________________________

54. a. Where were you born (name of town)? __________________________

b. Have you ever lived on a farm? _________

c. Where did you spend most of your life? rural ____ town ____ city ____

d. Have you ever traveled out of the state? Yes ____ No ____

To where?

Have you ever traveled to the North?

55. a. Are you married? Yes ____ No ____

If married (or ever married) what is (was) your spouse's occupation?

____

b. What is (was) your father's occupation? ______________________________

c. What is (was) your mother's occupation? ______________________________

d. What would you like to be doing in ten years?

e. Do you expect to be in this school next year? Yes ____ No ____

IF NO: Why?

56. a. Do you ordinarily pay much attention to public affairs and current affairs?

Yes ____ No ____

b. How often do you read the newspapers for information about current affairs?

c. What paper do you usually read?

d. Are there any other papers or magazines that you read or subscribe to?

THUMBNAIL: TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOUSE

1. Condition of the building (by observation).

   ____ sound ____ deteriorating ____ dilapidated

2. Condition of the furniture and furnishings (by observation).

   ____ excellent ____ good ____ average ____ poor ____ deteriorated

3. How close is the next house?

   ____ 10 yards or less ____ between 10 and 100 yards ____ further than 100 yards

4. How many windows in this house face the street? ____

5. Are the streets outside the house paved? Yes ____ No ____

6. How was rapport with the respondent?

   ____ excellent throughout ____ poor throughout

   ____ average ____ started poor, got good

   ____ started good, got poor

7. About how old was the respondent?

   ____ 20-30 ____ 31-40 ____ 41-50 ____ 51-60 ____ over 60

8. Did you see any Negroes around? If yes, explain the circumstance - in house or neighborhood, doing what.

9. Length of interview: ____ hours ____ minutes

ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD BE HELP US INTERPRET THIS INTERVIEW
(Use the back of the preceeding pages or add a page if necessary)